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AN INQUIRY INTO THE DOCTRINES OF
THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH,

IN

EIGHT SERMONS

PREACHED BEFORE

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD,

IN THE YEAR MDCCCXXX.

AT THE

LECTURE

FOUNDED BY

THE REV. JOHN BAMPTON, M. A.

CANON OF SALISBURY.

BY

HENRY SOAMES, M. A.

OF WADHAM COLLEGE, RECTOR OF SHELLEY, IN ESSEX.

OXFORD,

PRINTED BY SAMUEL COLLINGWOOD, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY,
FOR C. J. G. AND F. RIVINGTON, LONDON ;
AND SOLD BY J. PARKER, OXFORD.

MDCCCXXX.

TO THE
MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, ,
WILLIAM,
BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,
LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,
PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND METROPOLITAN.

MY LORD ARCHBISHOP,

THE following enquiry into the principles of Anglo-Saxon Christianity seeks, with profound respect and humility, the honour of your Grace's notice and protection. Its progress has been greatly encouraged by that approbation of the design which your Grace was pleased kindly to express before this work was undertaken. Its completion is rendered additionally grateful, from an obliging permission to introduce it by a name long inseparably connected with high attainments, sound discrimination, and the still more solid excellences of a character truly

DEDICATION.

Christian. From such a privilege the public generally will infer that these pages are occupied by a subject worthy of investigation, and that endeavours to vindicate our national religion from the charge of novelty are very far from hopeless.

That an elevation, which has ever enjoyed the rare felicity of affording universal satisfaction, may long continue to benefit the Church of England, is the earnest prayer,

My Lord Archbishop,

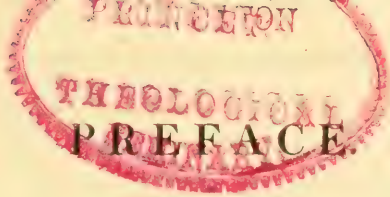
Of your Grace's

Obliged and devoted Servant,

THE AUTHOR.

SHELLEY PARSONAGE,

July 8, 1830.



FROM the publication of Ælfric's decisive testimonies against transubstantiation early in the reign of queen Elizabeth, it has become generally known, that the principal Romish article of belief was not entertained by the Anglo-Saxon Church. Archbishop Parker, under whose judicious patronage this important fact was communicated to the world, numbered, among many qualities of higher value, a liberal taste for our national antiquities, especially for such of them as concerned his own profession. Hence he diligently improved the opportunities afforded by opulence and high station, for preserving from farther injury the wreck of those monastic libraries which had been so wisely and munificently accumulated by former generations, so inexcusably spoiled and neglected by his own. Probably, therefore, this discreet, learned, and virtuous metropolitan was perfectly aware, that, besides transubstantiation, several other distinctive features of the religion recently overthrown were at variance with the theological remains of ancient England. The numerous and anxious avocations, however, necessarily pressing upon official emi-

nence in an agitated period, are amply sufficient to account for the very limited use made of these literary treasures when first consigned to a custody professedly Protestant. Perhaps, also, archbishop Parker even doubted the expediency of encouraging his contemporaries to form prematurely an extensive acquaintance with the monuments of Anglo-Saxon divinity. These venerable records, it is true, supply most remarkable confirmations of those religious principles which the reformers established. But then they also inculcate various usages and ceremonies which separatists from Rome abolished as cumbrous or pernicious. Vainly would men generally have been reminded, when established opinions were violently ejected, and pecuniary spoliation lent acrimony to polemical discussion, that mere externals could only afford a superficial and seeming encouragement to the papal system. The times would hardly allow the great mass of minds to distinguish accurately and effectively between dogmatic and ecclesiastical traditions. Where attachment to Romish principles and usages swayed the affections, it would have been certainly assumed, that countenance from the latter class of traditions was conclusive in favour of the former class also. Daily experience of such a disposition would obviously have a tendency to restrain cautious leaders of public opinion from communicating information for which society hi-

therto had become but imperfectly ripe. The days, however, for maintaining this reserve rapidly wore away, and in the next age, accordingly, Abraham Whelock, public librarian at Cambridge, gave general satisfaction, by proving, among his Notes upon Bede, from the Saxon homilies under his care, that our Ante-Norman fathers differed from the modern Romanists upon many other doctrines besides that of transubstantiation. The extracts, however, establishing this important fact being mere appendages to one among the editions of Bede, were not placed in a situation to attract permanently extensive notice, and they seem now to have become in a great measure forgotten. It has hence been indolently assumed by the great majority of men, that the Reformation expelled from the Church of England a series of doctrines which had been entertained, with the exception of transubstantiation, uninterruptedly within her bosom ever since the time of Augustine. Whelock's Bede would not allow the writer of these pages to doubt that our public libraries must afford ample means of convicting this assumption of unsoundness. He was induced, accordingly, to venture upon the task of exploring these noble repositories, and of embodying the result of his inquiries in the present volume.

In this will be found some evidence hitherto unpublished, and that already easy of access, ranged

under the several heads to which the various portions of it respectively belong. The whole work will therefore, it is hoped, supply such as are desirous of investigating the ancient religion of England with much greater facilities than those which are offered for that purpose by any former publication.

The Saxon extracts have been translated into English; the venerable language of our distant ancestry being but little understood. These translations have been made with strict literal fidelity. Such a servile adherence to the original text appeared indispensable in matters of evidence. It was, besides, thought not undesirable to exhibit the style and phraseology of those from whom we derive mainly our present speech. This object has led also to the preservation of their Latin forms in proper names, and in some other words, adopted by the Anglo-Saxons from the ecclesiastical literature of Rome, and transferred unchanged into their own books. In the spelling of Saxon words the MSS. have been followed. The extracts from Latin MSS. do not, however, appear with an equal degree of orthographical accuracy. A habit of writing the same words in a different form often imperceptibly affected the transcripts; and hence it became impossible, in many cases, on preparing these pages for the press, to ascertain the ancient scribe's orthography without a new reference to

his labours. This, as the MSS. were commonly at a distance, appeared a trouble and delay that might well be spared. Several of the Latin extracts, accordingly, are printed with the modern orthography, though taken from MSS. in which the words are differently spelt. In cases where the Latin words appear in an ancient form, they are presented as they stand in the originals. For the abbreviations have generally been substituted words or syllables at length. To express many of them, indeed, types could not easily have been found, and the majority of them would have tended to disfigure the pages and embarrass the readers.

As it was desired to prevent this work from becoming unnecessarily large, Saxon extracts already published have not commonly been inserted. Translations, with references to books containing the originals, were esteemed sufficient. In some cases references only have been supplied. In a few instances Saxon extracts, to be found in former publications, appear again in the following pages. These, however, are passages of more than ordinary importance, and with the exception of the extracts from *Ælfric's Paschal Homily*, they have all been transcribed anew from the original MSS. for the present undertaking. But, in general, nothing that seemed not absolutely necessary for the reader's information has been admitted among the Proofs of the following Sermons. Hence have been

omitted Ælfric's interesting Epistles, which have been transcribed entire, and which have hitherto appeared in a mutilated form. These important pieces contain, indeed, a considerable mass of matter not strictly doctrinal. It was thought, therefore, expedient to reserve them for a future opportunity, when they will probably be published with English translations, and a succinct history of the Anglo-Saxon Church.

CONTENTS.

SERMON I.

THE NATURE AND USE OF THEOLOGICAL TRADITION.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

ANCIENT uses of the word <i>tradition</i>	1
Trentine decree respecting tradition	4
Classification of traditions	5
Dogmatic tradition	7
Critical tradition	10
Hermeneutical tradition	12
Ecclesiastical tradition	15

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF SERMON I.

St. Cyprian upon tradition	21
Tertullian upon tradition	ibid.
St. Austin upon tradition	22
Ὁμολογισμός used before the first council of Nice	ibid.
Constantine to the first council of Nice	ibid.
Proto-Nicene council upon Scripture	ibid.
Decrees of the second council of Nice	23
The schoolmen	25
Trentine decree upon tradition	27
Ambiguous nature of this decree	28
Divine traditions	30
Apostolical traditions	ibid.
Ecclesiastical traditions	ibid.
Main distinction of Romanism	ibid.
Infant communion	32
<i>Homily on the catholic faith</i>	42

Anti-Christ	123
<i>Homily on St. Peter's day</i>	126

SERMON III.

THE SUPREMACY.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

Promise of our Saviour to St. Peter	135
Bede's exposition of this	136
Saxon homilist's exposition	138
Equality of the saints Peter and Paul	141
Traditions respecting St. Peter	143
St. James the Just occupant of the first see	144
Triumph of the Roman party in England	145
Wilfrid's application to Rome	146
Theodore's neglect of the papal authority	ibid.
England's refusal of the Deutero-Nicene decrees	147
Egbert's prohibition of images	ibid.
<i>The Caroline Books</i>	148
Alcuin's confutation of the Deutero-Nicene decrees ...	ibid.
Offa's quarrel with the Kentish court	149
Extreme rarity of papal missions to England	ibid.
Episcopal elections	ibid.
No oaths of obedience to any alien jurisdiction	150
The pall	ibid.
The crown's ecclesiastical supremacy	ibid.
Religious unity	151
Anglo-Saxon deference for Rome	152
Evil results from this	153
King Alfred's complaints of ecclesiastical ignorance ...	ibid.
Saxon versions of creeds, hymns, and prayers	154
Gregory's liturgical advice to Augustine	155

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF SERMON III.

Bede upon our Lord's promises to St. Peter	159
Equality of the saints Peter and Paul	ibid.
St. Paul the general conductor to judgment	161

St. Peters' ship, mystical meaning of	161
Traditions respecting St. Peter	ibid.
St. James our Lord's episcopal successor	163
The synod of Whitby	ibid.
Wilfrid's application to Rome	166
Consecration of St. Chad	169
Appointment of Wighard to Canterbury	ibid.
Theodore of Tarsus	170
Metropolitical authority of Canterbury established ...	ibid.
Rejection of the second council of Nice	ibid.
Alcuin's epistle against that council	171
Egbert's mutilated <i>Excerpt</i>	ibid.
Council of Elvira, probable reference to	172
The <i>Caroline Books</i> , editions of	173
Iconolatry condemned at Frankfort and Paris	ibid.
England, France, and Germany adverse to iconolatry	174
No papal legation from Augustine to Offa	ibid.
Lichfield erected into an archbishopric	ibid.
Kenulph's letter to the pope	175
Guido's legation	ibid.
Canterbury, the highest ecclesiastical authority	176
Episcopal elections popular	ibid.
The pall	178
Papal consent not required for episcopal consecrations	180
<i>Apostolical</i> , all metropolitans called	181
Ancient independence of the see of Milan	ibid.
Ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown	182
Saxon views of catholic unity	183
Saxon deference for the first four general councils ...	ibid.
Alfred's complaint of clerical ignorance	184
Ignorance of the episcopal order	185
Royal ordinance for popular instruction	ibid.
Translations of prayers, hymns, and creeds	186
Episcopal ordinance for popular instruction	ibid.
Evils of using the Latin language	ibid.
Gregory's correspondence with Augustine	187

SERMON IV.

THE INVOCATION OF ANGELIC AND DEPARTED SPIRITS.

2 THESS. II. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

St. Austin upon the mediatorial office	192
Bede upon the mediatorial office	ibid.
Homage to creatures rebuked	193
Prayers for the suffrages of saints	ibid.
The Virgin Mary	195
Invocation of creatures introduced	201
Worship of images introduced ..	204
Mutilation of the Decalogue	205
King Alfred's Decalogue	206
Invocation of saints not a Saxon tradition	207
Pagan habits the cause of Christian innovations	209
Darkness of the tenth century	212

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF SERMON IV.

St. Austin upon the mediatorial office	215
Bede upon the mediatorial office	ibid.
Prayers to be addressed to God only	ibid.
Prayer to God on All Saints' day	216
Prayer on St. Chad's day	ibid.
Prayer to Christ recommended for the prayers of the baptist	217
Prayer on St. Andrew's day	ibid.
Prayers to God for those of saints	ibid.
Ancient Litany	219
Offices at St. Oswin	221
Anciently no invocation of saints	223
Prayers to God for the Virgin's intercession	224
Comparison between Eve and the Virgin	ibid.
God's praises intended in praising the Virgin	225
Particulars of the Virgin's history	ibid.
The Virgin's perpetual virginity	ibid.
The Virgin not immaculately conceived	ibid.

The Virgin's parents	226
Caution respecting the Virgin's assumption	ibid.
Scripture alone trustworthy	227
Epithets of the Virgin	228
The Virgin's sufferings equal to martyrdom	229
The Virgin's triumphant entrance into heaven	230
Apostrophe to the water of baptism	231
Late introduction of addresses to the dead	ibid.
Ina's alleged liberality to Glastonbury	233
Exhortations to invoke the Virgin	ibid.
Individuals, addresses to the dead first used by	235
Metrical address to St. Oswin	236
Service invoking angels and the dead	237
Exhortation to invoke St. Lawrence	238
Confession to the saints	239
Address to God for the archangel Michael's prayers .	240
Reserve respecting angels	ibid.
Egwin's dream	ibid.
Alleged council of London respecting images	ibid.
Worship of the cross	241
Mutilated Decalogue	242
Decalogue in the Saxon Heptateuch	244
Ancient mutilated Decalogue	245
Alfred's visits to Rome	246
Alfred's Decalogue	248
Bede's Decalogue	249
Augustine's alleged introduction of image-worship ...	250
Prayer against Pagan cruelty	251
Paganism, long continuance of	ibid.
Christian invalids recommended to visit churches	252
Ignorance preceding the conquest	ibid.
Metrical invocation of St. Stephen	253

SERMON V.

ATTRITION.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

*Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which
ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.*

Entrance of Platonic philosophy into the Church 257

Ancient Britons unused to confession	257
Theodore's Penitential	258
Attrition	259
Principle of Anglo-Saxon penitential discipline	263
Nature of the ancient Penitentials	264
Auricular confession, object of	265
Public penance among the Anglo-Saxons	266
Auricular confession not deemed indispensable	268
Anglo-Saxon absolutions	271
Indicative absolutions, age of	272
Insufficiency of a disposition to confess	273
Power of the keys	275
Anglo-Saxon doctrine identical with Tyndale's	277
Attrition, doctrine of, unknown to the Anglo-Saxons	ibid.
Protestant and Romish absolutions	279

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF SERMON V.

Introduction of auricular confession	281
Theodore archbishop of Canterbury	282
His high estimation	283
Morinus upon attrition	ibid.
Aquinas upon attrition	284
The Trentine Catechism upon attrition	285
Bishop Fisher upon attrition	ibid.
Sufficiency of a wish to confess	286
Remonstrance of the council of Aix-la-Chapelle	ibid.
Confession before communion	287
Object of confession	ibid.
Public penances of the Anglo-Saxons	ibid.
Royal ordinances enforcing penance	288
Confession to God alone sufficient	289
Council of Chalons on confession	290
Secret satisfaction sufficient	ibid.
Origen's seven remedies for sin	291
Absolution anciently consequent upon satisfaction ...	292
Precatory absolutions alone used anciently	293
Indicative absolutions, introduction of	ibid.
Anglo-Saxon penitential service	294
Ancient absolution	296

Absolution for the sick	297
Ancient absolutions	ibid.
Confession to God, form of	298
St. Jerome upon absolution	299
Anglo-Saxon doctrine compared with Tyndale's	300
No absolution valid without contrition	301
Amendment, necessity of	302
Rising anxiety to extend the penitential doctrines	303

SERMON VI.

PURGATORY.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

Liberality, a mode of compensating for sins	310
Philosophic speculations upon the soul after death ...	312
Origen's opinion upon such questions	314
Opinions of the Fathers upon a purgatorial fire	315
Probable origin of these	316
Gregory the Great upon purgatory	318
Bede upon purgatory	319
Purgatory not mentioned by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle	321
Nor in a Saxon admonition to a penitent	323
Purgatory neglected often by Saxon homilists	324
Alcuin's opinion of a purgatorial fire	325
Reason assigned for the general conflagration	326
Visions of Fursey and Drighthelm	327
Purgatory maintained in a Saxon homily	328
Saxon and Romish purgatories	329
Prayers for the dead, object of	331
The first resurrection	332
Indulgences	333

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF SERMON VI.

Compensatory nature of liberality	337
Platonic and Manichæan opinions	339
Education of Origen	ibid

Origen's opinions	339
Tertullian's view of purgatory	340
St. Jerome's view of purgatory	ibid.
St. Austin's views of purgatory	341
Origen's perversions of scripture	ibid.
Pope Gregory's views of purgatory	342
Bede's views of purgatory	344
Various expositions of 1 Cor. iii. 15	ibid.
Bede upon that text	346
Purgatory omitted by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle ..	348
Archbishop Anselm's omission of purgatory	ibid.
Purgatory omitted in a Saxon admonition	349
No cleansing to those who die in sin	ibid.
No penance after this life	ibid.
No forgiveness after death	ibid.
Immediate passage of the good to heaven	350
Human life compared to Israel's passage through the wilderness	ibid.
Souls of good men conducted by angels to paradise ..	ibid.
Superior advantage of Christian souls	351
Universal passage through the final conflagration	ibid.
New heavens, and a new earth	352
Universal purgation of the earth	353
Fursey's dream	ibid.
Drighthelm's dream	355
Purgatory, homiletic account of	358
Alfred's belief in purgatory	361
Authentic assertions of purgatory	362
Object of prayers for the dead	364
Indulgences	366

SERMON VII.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

Importance of the doctrine	368
No trace of any ancient opposition to it	369
Gregory's neglect of it	370

Prayer anciently in his sacramentary	370
Bede against transubstantiation	371
Sacrament, meaning of the term	373
Alcuin's evidence	ibid.
Charlemain	374
Raban Maur	375
William of Malmesbury's attack	376
Haymo of Halberstadt	377
Druthmar of Corbey	378
Sedulius	ibid.
Radbert's assertion of the corporal presence	ibid.
The corporal presence an innovation	379
Erigena	380
Post-communion prayer	381
Legend respecting Odo	382
Interpolated episcopal interrogatories	ibid.
Ælfric	384
Mutilation of his paschal homily	386
Romanism not the ancient religion of England	390
Dogmatic tradition, Saxon testimony against	392

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF SERMON VII.

Ancient Gregorian prayer	395
Liturgical variations	396
No ancient rubrics for adoring the eucharist	ibid.
Eucharistic wine styled <i>vinum consecratum</i>	397
St. Jerome against transubstantiation	398
St. Austin, discourse of, from Fulgentius	399
Citation in Art. XXIX	401, 406
St. Austin upon the Eucharist	404
The passover and the Eucharist compared	406
Christ's eucharistic words, <i>mystical</i>	407
Sacrament, a <i>sacred sign</i>	ibid.
Christ's body <i>after a certain manner</i>	409
Alcuin	ibid.
His opinion of Melchisedech	ibid.
Charlemain	410
Eulogies upon Raban	411
Archbishop Tillotson, extract from	412

Raban against transubstantiation	412
Attack upon Raban	413
Haymo	414
Druthmar	416
Sedulius	ibid.
Transubstantiation, a novelty	417
Erigena	ibid.
Ancient prayer	418
Archbishop Odo's alleged stratagem	ibid.
Interpolated episcopal interrogatories	420
Bertram, name of	ibid.
Ælfric's use of Ratramn	421
Original publication of Ælfric	422
Passage from his Paschal Homily	ibid.
His Epistles	423
Mutilation of his Paschal Homily	429
Orthodoxy of ancient England	442

SERMON VIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND BEFORE THE CON- QUEST, AND SINCE THE REFORMATION.

JER. vi. 16.

*Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and ask for the
old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye
shall find rest for your souls.*

Departure of the Jews from antiquity	445
Departure of Romanists from antiquity	446
Sufficiency of Scripture	449
Apocrypha	450
The Creeds	451
The Sacraments	452
Episcopacy	453
The Papacy	454
Iconolatry	457
Invocation	458
Attrition	459
Compensatory sufferings	461
Purgatory	463
Transubstantiation	464

Half-communion	470
Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley	ibid.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF SERMON VIII.

The first four general councils	475
Rejection of the Deutero-Nicene council	ibid.
The <i>Reformatio Legum</i> upon transubstantiation	476
No receiving of Christ's body by the wicked	477



EXTRACT

FROM

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT

OF THE LATE

REV. JOHN BAMPTON,

CANON OF SALISBURY.

——“ I give and bequeath my Lands and
“ Estates to the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars
“ of the University of Oxford for ever, to have
“ and to hold all and singular the said Lands or
“ Estates upon trust, and to the intents and pur-
“ poses hereinafter mentioned; that is to say, I
“ will and appoint that the Vice-Chancellor of
“ the University of Oxford for the time being
“ shall take and receive all the rents, issues, and
“ profits thereof, and (after all taxes, reparations,
“ and necessary deductions made) that he pay all
“ the remainder to the endowment of eight Di-
“ vinity Lecture Sermons, to be established for
“ ever in the said University, and to be performed
“ in the manner following:

“ I direct and appoint, that, upon the first
“ Tuesday in Easter Term, a Lecturer be yearly

“ chosen by the Heads of Colleges only, and by
“ no others, in the room adjoining to the Print-
“ ing-House, between the hours of ten in the
“ morning and two in the afternoon, to preach
“ eight Divinity Lecture Sermons, the year fol-
“ lowing, at St. Mary's in Oxford, between the
“ commencement of the last month in Lent Term,
“ and the end of the third week in Act Term.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that the eight Di-
“ vinity Lecture Sermons shall be preached upon
“ either of the following subjects—to confirm and
“ establish the Christian Faith, and to confute all
“ heretics and schismatics—upon the divine author-
“ ity of the holy Scriptures—upon the authority of
“ the writings of the primitive Fathers, as to the
“ faith and practice of the primitive Church—upon
“ the Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ
“ —upon the Divinity of the Holy Ghost—upon the
“ Articles of the Christian Faith, as comprehended
“ in the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds.

“ Also I direct, that thirty copies of the eight
“ Divinity Lecture Sermons shall be always printed,
“ within two months after they are preached, and
“ one copy shall be given to the Chancellor of the
“ University, and one copy to the Head of every
“ College, and one copy to the Mayor of the city of
“ Oxford, and one copy to be put into the Bodleian
“ Library; and the expense of printing them shall
“ be paid out of the revenue of the Land or Estates
“ given for establishing the Divinity Lecture Ser-
“ mons: and the Preacher shall not be paid, nor be
“ entitled to the revenue, before they are printed.

“ Also I direct and appoint, that no person shall
“ be qualified to preach the Divinity Lecture Ser-
“ mons, unless he hath taken the degree of Master
“ of Arts at least, in one of the two Universities of
“ Oxford or Cambridge; and that the same person
“ shall never preach the Divinity Lecture Sermons
“ twice.”

PRINCETON
THEOLOGICAL
SERMON I.

THE NATURE AND USE OF THEOLOGICAL
TRADITION.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

BY *traditions*, the Evangelists obviously and uniformly mean, religious opinions of their countrymen uncontained in holy Scripture. In the Epistles also this term occasionally bears the same signification^a. The text, however, uses it in a wide, etymological sense. Under it is there included, evidently, the whole body of apostolical instructions to the church of Thessalonica, whether delivered orally or in writing.

A similar laxity of expression was likewise adopted by the Fathers. "Whence comes this tradition?" Cyprian inquires of Pompey; "descends it from our Lord and his Gospel, or from the commands and Epistles of the Apostles?"¹ Tertullian, again, mentions tra-

^a Gal. i. 14. Col. ii. 8.

dition as dependent upon a written authority. ² He resolves it, therefore, into Scripture. St. Austin, too, designates a passage from St. Paul to the Ephesians, as “a tradition of the Apostles.” ³ Hence it appears, undeniably, that portions of holy Writ were styled *traditions* in primitive times. Interpretations of God’s written word, immemorially current in the Church, were also naturally thus designated. It is asserted, accordingly, that the first council of Nice, in condemning Arianism, adopted a term ^b and framed a decree under the guidance of tradition ⁴. Constantine, however, had enjoined the members of that venerable synod to ground their decisions upon the recorded “oracles of God ⁵.” Every thought even, of disobeying this imperial mandate, is at variance with one of their own express admonitions ⁶. Whence then arose the traditional character assigned to their determination? Evidently from this; that it was founded upon principles of scriptural exposition established in every branch of the Catholic Church, and connected with apostolic times by the whole stream of ecclesiastical records. The second council of Nice was unable to follow this illustrious example. To reconcile one scripture with another was not indeed re-

^b Ὁμολόσιον.

quired of an assembly convoked principally to sanction the religious use of images. For such a purpose, who would appeal to the sacred penmen, or to any of their commentators? Unwritten tradition must necessarily supply that aid which the volume of inspiration absolutely refuses. The Deutero-Nicene fathers, accordingly, were compelled to rest their decrees upon this foundation. But in thus departing from the cautious usage of antiquity, they fatally undermined the bulwarks of religious peace. It must, however, be conceded to their memory, that they seem not to have looked upon the main subject of their deliberations as one affecting any article of faith. Rather do they treat it as a mere observance, useful for exciting pious feelings, and for augmenting the attractions of public worship⁷.

Nor in the middle ages does unwritten tradition appear to have been generally regarded as a sufficient authority for integral portions of the Christian creed. Scholastic writers, accordingly, use the phrases, "divine knowledge," and "knowledge of scripture," as if identical in meaning⁸. Intellects of such practised acuteness could, indeed, hardly fail of observing, that express declarations of various articles in the received faith would be

vainly sought in God's recorded will. But they probably considered, that all of these were, notwithstanding, capable of proof from the holy book; being contained there, as a sufficient inquiry would infallibly discover, by inevitable implication.

Those habits, however, of examining critically the records of inspiration which arose in the sixteenth century overthrew all such opinions. The reformers laboured incessantly to strip sundry doctrines maintained in the Roman Church of every pretension to any sure scriptural warrant. Nor could opponents elude the necessity of admitting, in several instances, the soundness of their conclusions. The papacy was now, therefore, obliged to commit itself upon a question hitherto left unreservedly open to controversy. Were principles to be abandoned because notoriously destitute of any well-defined authority: or was that objection to be removed by some new decision adapted to the altered state of public opinion? The latter alternative prevailed. Hence the council of Trent^c placed exactly upon the same level both scripture and unwritten tradition; whether this should relate to faith or to morals.

^c At its fourth session, holden April 8, 1546.

Under the two, it was represented, as it had been by the Scribes and Pharisees of old, were comprehended the word of God. Each, consequently, of these independent and separate authorities was admitted to an equal claim upon the dutiful obedience of mankind⁹.

The Trentine Fathers, however, contented with providing thus for the full integrity of established principles, expressed this important decree in a manner brief and general¹⁰. Individual discussion has naturally since introduced more copious, precise, and technical views of the question. The term *tradition* in its wide etymological sense has been discarded from use. It has been employed only for the purpose of designating tenets and usages, claiming, indeed, a heavenly origin, but avowedly contained neither expressly nor by inevitable implication in the recorded "oracles of God^d." These dependences of the alleged unwritten word are ordinarily distributed into the three following classes: divine, apostolical, and ecclesiastical. To the first class belong revelations of the blessed Jesus to his apostles, unrecorded in the sacred books¹¹; to the second, revelations of the Holy Ghost to the same pillars of our faith, and also left unrecorded by them¹²; to the

^d 1 Pet. iv. 11.

third, usages of immemorial establishment in the Church of Christ¹³.

For practical purposes, however, this arrangement appears both insufficient and redundant. Nor, probably, will any classification of religious traditions be found so simple and satisfactory, as one that regards their matter only. This appears to be fourfold. From a source independent of Scripture are admitted into the Roman Church various articles of faith. All these may be referred to *dogmatic tradition*. From universal, unbroken consent, ascending to the remotest periods of ecclesiastical antiquity, Christian societies have received certain records, as a body of canonical Scripture. Will it be deemed allowable to say, that in acting thus, they have followed *critical tradition*? From early monuments of theology have been handed down to later ages, modes of reconciling scripture with scripture, especially in leading, but disputable points. Why may not such interpretations be compendiously described as a body of *hermeneutical tradition*? From primitive ages, the Church has derived sundry maxims and usages for the regulation of her polity, and of public worship. Her authority for such purposes has been universally known, as *ecclesiastical tradition*.

Of these four branches, it is chiefly that first named which agitates important controversies¹⁴. Wherefore is “the bond of peace^e” broken between parties whom interest and duty call “to take sweet counsel together, and walk in the house of God, as friends^f?” Is it not because one side requires for traditional articles of faith an assent which the other side refuses? In defence of such refusal is urged the malediction, denounced in God’s undoubted word, against religious principles which Apostles and Evangelists have not taught^g. But how shall those, especially, “upon whom “the ends of the world are come^h,” certainly know what these holy men taught, unless they placed it likewise upon record? Would it not also seem a sort of reflection upon the superintending care of a merciful Providence, if integral portions of a Christian’s faith escaped *every* sacred pen? It is remarked, besides, that information, known to have been orally delivered by their inspired founders to certain churches, as that relating to *the man of sin*ⁱ, is preserved no longer by *any* church: a strong presumption, undoubtedly, against the preservation of all similar deposits. Nor

^e Ephes. iv. 3.

^f Psalm lv. 14.

^g Gal. i. 8. Rev. xxii. 18.

^h 1 Cor. x. 11.

ⁱ 2 Thess. ii.

will a competent knowledge of ecclesiastical history fail of engendering, in cautious and discerning minds, a distrust of unwritten tradition. Is it not notorious, that early heresy sought a refuge in this mysterious, undefined authority^k? Again; we are desired to consider the communion of infants; a practice prevalent for ages in the Church, and sanctioned by names of no mean importance; yet founded in doctrinal misapprehension⁴⁵, and now generally abandoned. What a suspicious vacillation is here exhibited by dogmatic tradition! Look also at various articles of faith, avowedly dependent upon this authority. Are they guarded by attestations, clear, universal, uninterrupted, coeval with Christian literature? Has not, on the contrary, even the most unwearied industry of their advocates failed of extracting in their favour, from ecclesiastical antiquity, any proofs more satisfactory than obscure intimations and disputable inferences? Yet the character of these traditions generally is far from suitable to a progress thus unopposed, thus almost unnoticed even. Some of them have a very perceptible affinity with Pagan principles: others are eminently calculated to engender and

^k See Archbishop Usher's Answer to the Jesuit's Challenge. Lond. 1631. p. 40.

feed ambitious and avaricious projects in the Christian priesthood¹⁶. It is obviously not very probable that doctrines, tending to such ends, should have been professed, for many centuries, in silent acquiescence.

To such topics of argumentation against dogmatic traditions, may be added the very constitution of the New Testament itself. Originally, as advocates for unrecorded religious principles never fail to urge, all that Jesus and the Holy Ghost had revealed to the Apostles, was possessed by their disciples in a traditional form alone. From this merely oral transmission, however, pressing evils were quickly found to spring. Misrepresentations both of facts and doctrines obtained a ready currency among such societies of Christians as enjoyed not an apostle's immediate presence. It was, indisputably, to successive necessities for obviating such inconveniences, that we owe the several records of our holy faith. Every member, probably, of the New Testament is of incidental origin¹⁷. The whole canon, therefore, forms a body of evidence against the safety of confiding in unwritten traditions¹⁸. At what time could these circulate under circumstances nearly so favourable, as when their inspired authors were alive, to guard their integrity and accuracy? That

very time, however, witnessed their daily mutilation and corruption. Whence the apostles were driven to become writers, as well as preachers. It was indeed rendered more and more manifest, almost every hour, that no church was likely to “stand fast,” and hold the traditions which it had been taught;” unless these, besides floating in the memories of their hearers, were also placed upon record.

Upon such grounds, many branches of the Catholic Church consider themselves justified in rejecting dogmatic traditions; nay more, obliged to this rejection. They freely admit, however, the authority of tradition in establishing the genuineness and authenticity of their sacred books. Palpable inconsistency has hence been laid to their charge; and it has often been asserted, in a tone of triumph, that the same ecclesiastical authority which assigns a divine character to known dogmatic traditions, also gives canonicity to the recorded “oracles of God.” But this representation, unless restricted to the primitive Church, is evidently fallacious. Later ecclesiastical authorities have done nothing more, in this case, than register and witness the facts which descended to their care. Now the primitive Church acquiesced in apostolical claims to

inspiration, because they were supported by miracles¹⁹; and she recognised as genuine the several members of our sacred canon, at a period when it was ascertainable from personal knowledge that they were truly written by the authors to whom they were assigned. She thus formed the first link in the chain of tradition. Not, however, in the chain of dogmatic tradition, as it is half insinuated by those who fain would involve the subject in confusion; but in that branch of the matter for which the name of critical tradition has been proposed in this discourse. This, it should be borne in mind, regards not the doctrine delivered, but merely the mode and means of its delivery²⁰. The age immediately succeeding that of the apostles, in supplying a second link to the chain of critical tradition, simply bore testimony to the prevalence of a conviction which no man, when the facts were thus recent, was able to elude. Important, however, as are this ancient ecclesiastical testimony and registration, posterity requires a great deal more for its satisfaction. Were the sacred books, it asks, admitted as genuine by the Fathers and heretics of highest antiquity? Do contemporaneous historical monuments afford them confirmation? Is their early dispersion attested by versions of the

most venerable age? Unless affirmative answers could certainly be returned to these questions, no force of authority, merely ecclesiastical, would obtain assent from discerning minds to the pretensions which these books advance. Nor is even this degree of satisfaction sufficient in such a case, involving, as it does, the whole conduct of human life, and every hope of the soul, on its escape from corporeal durance. Unless the "Spirit itself bore witness with our spirit¹," when we humbly and earnestly seek for comfort and instruction from holy Scripture, assertions of its divine authority would sound in the ears of most men as little better than "idle tales^m." It is because the sacred pages afford abundantly this kind of internal evidence, that they bring an irresistible conviction of their heavenly character to unprejudiced readers of every class. It is because the needful external evidence in their favour is complete in all particulars, much more than because the Church supplies her own peculiar links in this chain of critical tradition, that sound inquiring minds have universally acquiesced in the canonicity of our holy books.

Intellects of this description have ever also sought assistance from tradition, in the expo-

¹ Rom. viii. 16.

^m Luke xxiv. 11.

sition of Scripture, especially in those points which antiquity minutely canvassed, and accurately defined. It is indeed true that the volume of inspiration may be made, and *ought* to be made, its own interpreter. “Spiritual things are to be compared with spiritualⁿ,” and thus men are to seek such a knowledge of “all the counsel of God^o,” as their several faculties admit, and circumstances require. But this task, in the more hidden mysteries of revelation, particularly, demands a high degree of diligence, judgment, and humility. The records of our holy faith, having been incidentally elicited, are naturally wanting in systematic arrangement and technical precision. Probably, however, the communication of heavenly knowledge by writers thus incited to composition, is among those merciful dispensations for which especial gratitude is due to Providence. For instruction is imbibed far more aptly, by the great majority of minds, in a miscellaneous form, than in one professedly didactic. Still it is obvious, that doctrines interspersed in a series of occasional compositions must be difficult of accurate exposition and classification. In fact, without some considerable acquaintance

ⁿ 1 Cor. ii. 13.

^o Acts xx. 27.

with the circumstances under which our sacred books were written, with the controversies then prevailing, and with habits of thought and expression then existing, all attempts to use them theologically, are plainly hopeless. Now, these indispensable aids for biblical interpretation were possessed completely by those alone who conversed with the Apostles, and their immediate successors. A full persuasion of this truth led the first council of Nice, that most august of ecclesiastical assemblies, to unfold the meaning of Scripture in certain controverted passages, upon principles current immemorially among Christians, and formally embodied in the confessions of particular churches²¹. In this humble and wary deference for the most unsuspected periods of antiquity, the Proto-Nicene Fathers have been imitated by the best esteemed of subsequent councils, by the safest of scriptural expositors. Nor can any inquirer calculate rationally upon arriving at sound conclusions in dogmatic theology, unless he seeks for guidance from the venerable monuments of early Christianity. An arrogant or indolent neglect of hermeneutical tradition can scarcely fail of betraying cultivated minds, when intent upon religious knowledge, into rash confidence and erroneous opinions.

Respect is also manifestly due for the usages of that venerable period, when the church encountered no worldly temptations, and when apostolical recollections yet lingered among her teachers. Eminent divines, accordingly, have generally shewn a reverential deference for all those decencies of polity and worship, which ascend upwards to the remotest ages of Christian antiquity. But here expediency may be permitted to raise her voice. Ecclesiastical tradition regards not the faith itself, but its external profession. It may, therefore, allowably be restrained from offering violence to the varying aspect of human society.

In examining questions, however, arising from this, or from any other branch of the subject under consideration, actual possession should not lightly pass as a proof of establishment from the first. Particular churches may have holden traditions, even for centuries, which, notwithstanding, were adopted long after the apostles had gone to reap the fruit of their labours. For ascertaining, in any case, whether such may be the fact, inquiry may be safely and advantageously restricted within a limited range. If a link in the chain should be found wanting, arguments, drawn from alleged continuity are

obviously valueless. For applying to such arguments this conclusive test, our own country offers facilities far from uninviting. Her earlier ecclesiastical history is broken into two portions, distinctly severed from each other, by the Norman conquest. Of the former portion many monuments have happily survived the injuries of time. From these venerable records Englishmen may form such a judgment upon religious tradition as most concerns them nationally; such too as may go far towards a satisfactory decision upon the whole question.

In every comprehensive examination of this important question, usages and opinions upon points of inferior consequence ought to be carefully distinguished from articles of faith. It is from the last alone that the Christianity of any particular age and country derives its essential character. Imperfections of the former kinds can hardly fail of appearing in the religious records of a rude people and an unlettered age. Such blemishes, however, affect not materially that controversy which long has agitated western Europe. We are not very highly concerned to know whether any particular link in the chain of tradition is marked by credulity, defective criticism, and superstition. But great is the importance of

ascertaining whether it bears testimony to the solemn establishment of leading doctrines, incapable of scriptural proof.

How, then, is this controversy affected by the literary remains of our Anglo-Saxon ancestry? Obscured among the shadows of a remote and a neglected period as are the means of answering this question, the inquiry must be surely no unworthy or uninteresting employment for an ingenuous English mind; especially in this ancient and majestic seat of sound learning and religion. A superficial contempt of ages past, and an indolent, vainglorious assumption of superiority for the passing generation, are no genuine fruits of those well-directed studies which have rendered this venerable university not less preeminent in solid claims to public confidence, than it is in external magnificence. It is because we are here trained in habits enabling and accustoming us to "prove all things," to "hold fast that which is good^p," that deference from liberal and discerning minds generally waits upon us. But if such among us as are independent scholars, or devoted to lay professions, are bound to make our country some return, by the dili-

gent improvement of our studious hours, for the privilege of admission to her choicest mental culture, how much more obliged to this assiduous care are those individuals of our body whom Providence calls to minister in holy things ! Not only does our own generation expect from us the guidance of sound religion, but also its upbraiding voice will rise against unfaithful shepherds in “the great and very terrible day of the Lord^q.” When this awful truth acts upon his imagination, what “minister of Christ, and steward of the mysteries of God^r,” can refrain from exclaiming, “Who is sufficient for these things^s ?” Fatally lost, then, to a just perception of interest and duty, must be such among us as “wait at the altar^t,” if we fail to search, like “workmen that need not be ashamed^v,” into the grounds of our holy faith. At the present time our attention is imperiously demanded by dogmatic tradition. In rejecting this, that establishment which offers to us maintenance and respectability is charged with error, by a numerous, ingenious, accomplished, irreconcilable, and active class of adversaries. Nor do such opponents fail of

^q Joel ii. 11.

^r 1 Cor. iv. 1.

^s 2 Cor. ii. 16.

^t 1 Cor. ix. 13.

^v 2 Tim. ii. 15.

seeking strength for their objections from appeals to the faith of their Christian ancestors in every age.

An inquiry into the justice of such appeals will offer no violence, it may be presumed, to the intentions of that excellent and reverend person, from whose pious and judicious liberality has arisen a long and useful series of occasions like the present. It is humbly proposed, accordingly, with earnest prayers for a blessing from on high, to trace a picture of Anglo-Saxon Christianity. No fact or doctrine will in this be submitted to your notice, for which an authentic voucher has not been provided. Among the venerable monuments, however, of our ancient Church, enough has been discovered, for ascertaining most of "the traditions" that she was taught, and the degree of steadfastness with which she held them. In consulting these interesting stores, (chiefly yet unpublished,) the leading object has naturally been the illustration of prominent existing controversies. Hence your attention will be invited principally to the voice of Anglo-Saxon tradition, respecting the sufficiency of scripture, the papal authority, the invocation of angelic and departed spirits, the penitential doctrines, purgatory, and transubstantiation. But other

matters, of inferior importance in polemics, have not been overlooked, nor will be excluded from appearing in the following Sermons. Of these, the last will contain a comparison between the results of the whole inquiry and the principles of our national Church, as defined at the Reformation. We all of us are well aware, that then the sacred edifice was “built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone^x.” Haply the present undertaking may establish for our spiritual nursing-mother a new claim upon the grateful veneration of her children. Those admirable men, whose lives of unceasing anxious toil, deaths of intense, unwonted agony, led England to reject articles of faith uncontained in holy scripture, may be found, in effecting such a change, to have restored their country to the religion that she anciently professed.

^x Eph. ii. 20.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SERMON I.

¹ “*NIHIL* innovetur, inquit, *nisi quod traditum est*. Unde est ista traditio? Utrumne de Dominica et Evangelica auctoritate descendens, an de Apostolorum mandatis atque epistolis veniens? Ea enim facienda esse quæ scripta sunt Deus testatur, et proponit ad Jesum Nave, dicens: *Non recedet liber legis hujus ex ore tuo, sed meditaberis in eo die ac nocte, ut observes facere omnia quæ scripta sunt in eo* (Jos. i. 8.). Item Dominus Apostolos suos mittens, mandat baptizari gentes, et doceri, ut observent omnia quæcunque ille præcepit (Matt. xxviii. 20.). Si ergo aut in Evangelio præcipitur, aut in Apostolorum Epistolis aut Actibus continetur, ut a quacunque hæresi venientes non baptizentur, sed tantum manus illis imponatur in pœnitentiam, observetur divina hæc et sancta traditio.” Cæcilii Cypriani Epist. 74.—Ad Pompeium.—S. Cæc. Cypr. Opp. per Joan. Oxon. Ep. Oxon. 1683. p. 211.

² “Quomodo enim usurpari quid potest si traditum prius non est? etiam in traditionis obtentu exigenda est, inquis, auctoritas scripta: ergo quæramus an et traditio non scripta non debeat recipi? Plane negabimus recipiendam, si nulla exempla præjudicent aliarum observationum, quas sine ullius

Scripturæ instrumento, solius traditionis titulo, exinde consuetudinis patrocinio vindicamus.” (Qu. Sept. Flor. Tertull. de Corona, c. 3. Opp. Omn. Rothomag. 1662. p. 289.) See also the bishop of Lincoln’s *Ecclesiastical History illustrated from Tertullian*. Camb. 1826. p. 298.

³ “ Quia sicut multa erant quæ doctus Cyprianus doceret, sic erat et aliquid quod Cyprianus docibilis disceret. Quod autem nos admonet, ut, *ad fontem recurramus, id est, ad apostolicam traditionem, et inde canalem in nostra tempora dirigamus*, optimum est, et sine dubitatione faciendum. *Traditum est ergo nobis*, sicut ipse commemorat, ab Apostolis, quod sit *unus Deus, et Christus unus, et una spes, et fides una, et una ecclesia, et baptisma unum*.” S. Aurel. Augustin. Hippon. Ep. de Baptismo, contra Donatistas, lib. V. cap. 26. Opp. tom. 9. p. 158. edit. Benedict. Paris. 1694.

⁴ Οἱ δὲ ἐπίσκοποι, οὐχ ἑαυτοῖς εὐρόντες τὰς λέξεις, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῶν πατέρων ἔχοντες τὴν μαρτυρίαν, οὕτως ἔγραψαν. Ἐπίσκοποι γὰρ ᾗσαν ἀρχαῖσι, πρὸ ἐτῶν ἐγγύς που ἑκατὸν τριάκοντα, τῆς τε μεγάλης Ῥώμης καὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας πόλεως οἱ ᾗτιάσαντο τοὺς ποιήμα λέγοντας τὸν Υἱὸν, καὶ μὴ ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρὶ. Theodorit. Eccl. Hist. lib. I. cap. 8. edit. Vales. et Reading. Cantab. 1720. p. 30.

⁵ Εὐαγγελικαὶ γάρ, φησι, βίβλοι, καὶ ἀποστολικάι, καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν προφητῶν τὰ θεσπίσματα σαφῶς ἡμᾶς ἃ χρὴ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ φρονεῖν ἐκπαιδεύουσι. Τὴν πολεμποιὸν οὖν ἀπελάσαντες ἔριν, ἐκ τῶν θεοπνεύστων λόγων λάβωμεν τῶν ζητουμένων τὴν λύσιν. Ibid. cap. 7. p. 26.

⁶ Ταῖς γεγραμμένοις πίστευε, τὰ μὴ γεγραμμένα μὴ ἐννόει, μηδὲ ζῆτει. Gelas. Cyzicen. Commentarius Actorum Nicæen. Conc. Lutet. 1600. p. 124. pars 2. cap. 19.

7 Among the acts of the second council of Nice we find the contents of the Old Testament designated as a *divine tradition*: “ Et quæ Veteris quidem sunt Testamenti, quod tenuit Israeliticus populus, *Dei traditio est.* (Conc. Nicæn. II. Act. vi. SS. Conc. ex edit. Labb. et Coss. Paris. 1671. tom. VII. p. 458.) The council’s general admission of tradition is thus expressed: “ Et ut compendiose fateamur, omnes ecclesiasticas, sive scripto, sive sine scripto, sancitas nobis traditiones illibate servamus; quarum una est imaginalis picturæ formatio, quæ historiæ evangelicæ prædicationis concinit.” (Ibid. 555.) By these *traditions*, however, usages, rather than articles of faith, appear to have been intended. Accordingly among the condemnations pronounced, before the council separated, we find the following passages: “ Credentes in unum Deum in Trinitate laudandum honorabiles imagines osculamur. Qui sic se non habent, anathema sint. Qui sic non sentiunt, procul ab ecclesia pellantur. Nos antiquam *legislationem* Ecclesiæ Catholicæ sequimur. Nos *leges* patrum custodimus.” (Ibid. 575.) In that passage from the acts of the council which Bellarmine has cited, (Controv. I. 72.) this alleged apostolical tradition respecting images is treated as a prescription for a mere observance. “ Quod autem cum multis aliis quæ in Ecclesia *observantur* sine Scriptura, nobis imaginum veneratio tradita sit ab apostolorum temporibus, late per historias traditum est.” (Labb. et Coss. 838.) In the seventh canon also, which forbids the consecration of churches without relics, the practice of providing them in such places, as likewise the veneration of images, are treated as

customs, and points of traditional legislation. “Sicut enim venerabilium imaginum vultum abstulerunt ab ecclesia, ita et alios quosdam *mores* (ἑτεροτῖνα ἔθνη) deseruerunt, quos et oportet renovari, et secundum scriptam et non scriptam legislationem denuo detineri. Quotquot ergo venerabilia templa consecrata sunt absque sanctis reliquiis martyrum, definimus in eis reliquiarum una cum solita oratione fieri positionem. Et si a præsenti tempore inventus fuerit episcopus absque lipsaniis consecrare templum, deponatur, ut ille qui *ecclesiasticas traditiones* transgreditur.” (Ibid. 603.) Hence it may be reasonably doubted whether the Deutero-Nicene Fathers thought of authorizing any rule of faith independent of Scripture. In their appeals to tradition, discipline, and not doctrine, appears to have been their object. In the Rescripts also of Nicholas I. who was elected to the popedom in 858, the term *tradition* appears to be used in the same manner. The second article is, “Ridiculum est, et satis abominabile dedecus, ut *traditiones*, quas antiquitus a Patribus suscepimus, infringi patiamur.” (Ibid. VIII. 550.) The first clause, however—in fact the whole body of these Rescripts—relates to discipline exclusively; the first article, indeed, seems to place “evangelical, apostolical, and canonical decrees,” as if synonymous with the “traditions received anciently from the Fathers” mentioned in the second article. The following is this first article entire: “Imperiali iudicio non possunt iura ecclesiastica dissolvi: nec possunt imperatorum leges, evangelicis, et apostolicis, atque canonicis decretis, quibus postponendæ sunt, inferre præjudicium.” The same pope likewise evidently

applies the term *tradition* to usages alone, in an epistle to Ado, archbishop of Vienne, in the following passage : “ Si *instituta ecclesiastica*, ut sunt a beatis Apostolis *tradita*, integra vellent Domini sacerdotes observare, nulla varietas, nulla diversitas, in ipsis *ordinibus ac consecrationibus* traheretur. Sed dum unusquisque, non quod *traditum* est, sed quod sibi visum fuerit, hoc existimat esse tenendum, inde diversa in diversis ecclesiis aut tenere aut celebrare videntur : ac fit scandalum populis, qui dum nesciunt *traditiones antiquas* humana præsumptione corruptas, putant sibi aut ecclesias non convenire, aut ab Apostolis ipsam contrarietatem inditam.” Subsequently, this epistle speaks of those “ who wander from the *institutions* of the Roman Church, *qui a Romanæ Ecclesiæ institutionibus errant*,” and expresses a desire to know who those were that approved a departure from “ the *custom* of the Roman church : *alterius Ecclesiæ quam Romanæ existimant consuetudinem esse servandam*.” (Ibid. 564.) In these passages the term *tradition* is evidently restricted to those prescriptions for usages, eventually classed under the head of *ecclesiastical tradition*. It does not appear from them that a practice prevailed, so early as the ninth century, of recognising *articles of faith* founded upon a tradition separate from Scripture, and independent of it.

⁸ Thus Hales, the *Irrefragable Doctor*, who flourished about the year 1230, treats *theology* and the *knowledge of holy Scripture* as two different modes of designating the same thing. The following passage, among many others, may be taken as an instance of this : “ *Doctrina sacra* dicitur di-

vina, seu theologica, quia a Deo, et de Deo, et ductiva ad Deum. A Deo dicitur, quod convenit aliis scientiis : sed tamen non hoc modo convenit *sacræ Scripturæ*.” (Alexandri Alensis Theologiæ Summa. Col. Agr. 1622. p. 3.)

Aquinas, the *angelic doctor*, who flourished something later in the thirteenth century, thus expresses himself: “ Respondeo dicendum, *sacram doctrinam* unam scientiam esse. Est enim unitas potentiæ et habitus considerata secundum objectum, non quidem materialiter, sed secundum rationem formalem objecti : puta homo, asinus, et lapis conveniunt in una formali ratione colorati, quod est objectum visus. Quia igitur *sacra Scriptura* considerat aliqua secundum quod sunt divinitus revelata, secundum quod dictum est, omnia quæcunque sunt divinitus revelabilia communicant in una ratione formali objecti hujus scientiæ ; et ideo comprehenduntur sub *sacra doctrina*, sicut sub scientia una.” (S. Thom. Aquin. Theol. Sum. Col. Agr. 1622. p. 1. art. III. Concl.) “ Et inde est quod et auctoritatibus philosophorum *sacra doctrina* utitur, ubi per rationem naturalem veritatem cognoscere potuerunt. Sicut Paulus, Act. xvii. inducit verbum Arati, dicens, *Sicut et quidam poetarum vestrorum dixerunt, Genus Dei sumus*. Sed tum *sacra doctrina* hujusmodi auctoritatibus utitur quasi extraneis argumentis et probabilibus. Auctoritatibus autem *canonicæ Scripturæ* utitur proprie ex necessitate, argumentando. Auctoritatibus autem aliorum doctorum Ecclesiæ, quasi arguendo ex propriis, sed probabiliter. *Innititur nam fides nostra revelationi Apostolis et Prophetis factæ qui canonicos libros scripserunt*. Non autem revelationi

si qua fuit aliis doctoribus facta.” (Aquín. Theol. Sum. p. 3. I. pars. art. VIII. Concl.) This passage must plainly be understood as restricting the grounds of a Christian’s faith to the canonical books of Scripture: otherwise there would have been evident impropriety in naming the authors of these books as the sole authorities for religious belief. All the prophets and apostles were not writers, yet they were all favoured by heavenly revelations, either immediately by divine inspiration, or mediately, through conversation with Christ. There can be no doubt therefore, that religious information given by these inspired personages, who placed nothing upon record, was no less worthy of credence, than that given by those who wrote the canonical books. Aquinas, however, seems to have proceeded upon a presumption, either that the revelations made to non-writers are lost, or that we have no means of ascertaining their genuineness. Accordingly, in another place, he derives faith wholly from scripture: “*Procedunt ex principiis fidei, sc. ex auctoritatibus sacræ Scripturæ.*” (Sec. Sund. p. 3. art. V. Concl.) Again he says, “*Veritas fidei in sacra Scriptura diffuse continetur et variis modis, et in quibusdam obscure, ita quod ad eliciendam fidei veritatem ex sacra Scriptura requiritur longum studium et exercitium.*” (Ib. p. 5. art. IX. Concl.)

9 “Sacrosancta œcumenica et generalis Tridentina synodus, in Spiritu Sancto legitime congregata, præsidentibus in ea eisdem tribus apostolicæ sedis legatis, hoc sibi perpetuo ante oculos proponens, ut, sublatis erroribus, puritas ipsa Evangelii in Ecclesia conservetur: quod promissum ante per

prophetas in Scripturis sanctis Dominus noster, Jesus Christus, Dei Filius, proprio ore primum promulgavit, deinde per suos Apostolos, tanquam fontem omnis salutaris veritatis et morum disciplinæ, omni creaturæ prædicari jussit: *perspiciensque hanc veritatem et disciplinam contineri in libris scriptis et sine scripto traditionibus, quæ ex ipsius Christi ore ab Apostolis acceptæ, Spiritu Sancto dictante, quasi per manus traditæ ad nos usque pervenerunt*: orthodoxorum Patrum exempla secuta, omnes libros tam Veteris quam Novi Testamenti, cum utriusque unus Deus sit auctor, *nec non traditiones ipsas, tum ad fidem, tum ad mores pertinentes tamquam vel ore tenus a Christo vel a Spiritu Sancto dictatas, et continua successione in Ecclesia Catholica conservatas, pari pietatis affectu ac reverentia suscipit ac veneratur.*" (Labb. et Coss. XIV. 746.) The manual compiled under the orders of the Trentine council for the instruction of the ordinary clergy, divides accordingly, as Romish divines have subsequently done, the Word of God into scripture and tradition. "Omnis doctrinæ ratio, quæ fidelibus tradenda sit, *verbo Dei continetur, quod in Scripturam traditionesque distributum est.*" (Catechism. ad Parochos. Lovan. 1662. p. 7.) From these extracts it is manifest, that the Rabbinical and Romish churches stand exactly upon the same ground respecting the rule of faith, each professing to be the depositary of an unwritten, as well as of a written word of God. See this last fact excellently illustrated by Chemnitz. (Examen Concilii Tridentini, pars I. Francof. 1573. p. 14.)

¹⁰ That a decree of such importance should have been couched in terms conveying so little precise

information called forth loud animadversions immediately on its promulgation. (F. Paul's Hist. of the Council of Trent, by Brent; Lond. 1620. p. 162.) The council, in fact, by this decision, authorized the Roman church to enjoin any established points of faith or discipline which she might choose, as integral portions of God's *unwritten word*. Cardinal Pallavicino in effect admits this: "Quali poi fossero queste tradizioni in particolare, doveva esaminarsi e determinarsi di mano in mano, secondo che le materie richiedessero nelle future sessioni; e ciascuno era tenuto di sottomettersi in ciò al giudizio della Chiesa." (Ist. del Conc. di Trento. Rom. 1656. I. 586.) Bellarmine gives the five following rules for ascertaining genuine apostolic traditions: 1. When the universal Church embraces any article of faith which is not found in Scripture. 2. When the universal Church observes any thing, as infant baptism, which is not enjoined in Scripture. 3. When the universal Church has ever maintained any point of discipline, as the fast of Lent, upon which scripture is silent. 4. When all the doctors of the Church, either in a general council, or separately, in their several books, teach that any thing has descended by apostolical tradition. 5. Whenever any thing is accounted an apostolical tradition by those churches which have an unbroken and continued succession from the apostles. *Integra et continuata successio*. (Controv. I. 77.) This, again, virtually refers full power to the papal see of determining as to the members of this alleged *unwritten word*. For the first four marks are notoriously disputable, and probably papal polemics would deny

integrity and continuity of succession to all churches, but that of Rome.

¹¹ “ Divinæ (traditiones sc.) dicuntur, quæ acceptæ sunt ab ipso Christo, apostolos docente; et nusquam in divinis literis inveniuntur: talia sunt ea quæ ad materiam et formam sacramentorum pertinent: pauca enim de his habemus in divinis literis, et tamen certum est, sacramentorum essentiam non potuisse nisi a Christo institui. Propterea enim apostolus, 1 Cor. xi. loquens de sacramento Eucharistæ, dicebat, *Ego enim accepi a Domino, quod et tradidi vobis.*” Bellarmin. I. 66.

¹² Apostolicæ traditiones proprie dicuntur illæ quæ ab Apostolis institutæ sunt, non tamen sine assistentia Spiritus Sancti, et nihilominus non extant scriptæ in eorum Epistolis, quale est jejunium Quadragesimæ, et quatuor temporum, et alia multa.” Ibid.

¹³ “ Ecclesiasticæ traditiones proprie dicuntur consuetudines quædam antiquæ vel a prælatis, vel a populis inchoatæ, quæ paulatim tacito consensu populorum vim legis obtinuerunt.” Ibid.

¹⁴ “ Controversia inter nos et hæreticos in duobus consistit. Primum est, quod nos asserimus, in Scripturis non contineri expresse totam doctrinam necessariam sive de fide, sive de moribus: et proinde præter *verbum Dei scriptum*, requiri etiam *verbum Dei non scriptum, id est, divinas et apostolicas traditiones.* At ipsi docent, in scripturis omnia contineri ad fidem et mores necessaria, et proinde non opus esse ullo Dei verbo non scripto.—Secundo dissidemus, quod illi existimant apostolos quidam quædam instituisse præter Scripturam, quæ

ad ritus et ordinem Ecclesiæ pertinent, quæ tamen non sunt necessaria, nec præcepta, sed libera.” (Bellarmin. 66.) This statement, although accurately defining the main difference between reformed churches and that of Rome, is liable to this objection, that it might lead the more uninformed and incautious readers to suppose, that all the traditional articles of belief, though not contained expressly in scripture, are so contained by inevitable implication. But thus far the council of Trent has not ventured to go. In its decree respecting missal sacrifices for the dead, it makes no mention of any scriptural authority: “Quare non solum pro fidelium vivorum peccatis, pœnis, satisfactionibus, et aliis necessitatibus, sed et pro defunctis in Christo, nondum ad plenum purgatis rite, *juxta apostolorum traditionem, offertur.*” (Labb. et Coss. XIV. 853.) It uses the same reserve respecting the intercession and invocation of saints, the honouring of relics, and the religious use of images: “Mandat sancta synodus omnibus episcopis, et cæteris docendi munus curamque sustinentibus, ut *juxta Catholicæ et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ usum a primævis Christianæ religionis temporibus receptum, sanctorumque Patrum consensionem, et sacrorum conciliorum decreta*, in primis de sanctorum intercessione, invocatione, reliquiarum honore, et legitimo imaginum usu fideles diligenter instruant.” (Ibid. 895.) Nor does the council give the least intimation of any other than a traditional authority for indulgences: “Cum potestas conferendi indulgentias a Christo Ecclesiæ concessa sit, atque hujusmodi potestate divinitus sibi tradita, *antiquissimis temporibus illa usa fuerit*, sacrosancta synodus indul

gentiarum usum, Christiano populo maxime salutarem, *et sacrorum conciliorum auctoritate probatum*, in Ecclesia retinendum esse, docet et præcipit." (Ibid. 917.) See also Bishop Marsh's Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome, chap. 2. sect. 3. where this subject is treated more at length.

¹⁵ Founded upon a literal interpretation of the text, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." (St. John vi. 53.) The usage of admitting very young persons to the holy communion appears from Cyprian to have prevailed in Africa so early as the third century. That it continued in the African Church is proved from St. Austin. In that Father's time we find it established in the Roman Church; pope Innocent I. having left a passage in approbation of it. Doubts have, however, been raised, with great probability, as to whether either the Fathers or ancient Popes maintained the strict necessity of infant communion. But there is no doubt that such an opinion prevailed in the west in the ninth century: the Eucharist was then ordinarily given immediately after baptism, and priests were enjoined to have it always in readiness, lest infants should die without the *viaticum*. That the practice of infant communion was, indeed, pretty thoroughly rooted in the west, before the preceding century closed, is proved from the following passage in the *Caroline Books*: "Si omnes imaginum adoratione carentes, secundum illorum falsissimam opinionem, pereunt, infantes, baptismatis unda loti, *et corporis Dominici edulio et sanguinis haustu satiati*, qui needum imagines adorare valuerunt, et sic e seculo

migraverunt, pereunt." (Opus Illustriss. Car. Mag. contra Sym. pro Ador. Imag. 1549. p. 242.) The practice appears to have declined, as a belief in transubstantiation advanced, and cardinal Bona says, that it ceased in France in the twelfth century, although Hugh de St. Victor would fain have supported its tottering credit. In Germany, infant communion survived some time longer; and even so late as the age immediately preceding the Reformation Hospinian tells us, that the clergy of Lorraine and the neighbouring districts had been in the habit, after administering baptism, of taking a consecrated wafer between two of their fingers, of holding it up to the people, of returning it afterwards into the pix, of dipping the two fingers which had holden it into wine, and of dropping some of this wine into the infant's mouth, saying, *The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ profit thee unto eternal life.* By the council of Trent, in its twenty-first session, holden on the 16th of July, 1562, infant communion was formally abrogated, as unnecessary. No other course could, indeed, be taken by that assembly respecting a practice which the Roman Church had so long discontinued. The council expressly provided, however, that its decree should not be construed as any condemnation of antiquity; asserting, at the same time, that we are bound incontrovertibly to understand the Fathers as not supporting infant communion from any belief in its strict necessity. Respecting earlier advocates of the practice, this may safely be believed; but with Romish authorities from the eighth to the eleventh century, the case is different. The conduct of those ages in this particular distinctly exhibits an article

of faith, then holden by the Church of Rome, but subsequently abandoned by her. Waterland's Inquiry concerning Infant Communion; Works, Oxf. 1823. IX. 473. Bingham's Antiquities, Lond. 1726. I. 774. Bishop Morton on the Sacrament, Lond. 1631. p. 38. Bona de Reb. Liturgic. Paris. 1672. p. 502. Bellarm. Controv. III. 162. Hospin. Hist. Sacr. Tigur. 1598. p. 60. Wall's Inf. Bapt. Lond. 1819. II. 368. Labb. et Coss. XIV. 847. For various other traditions now abrogated in the Romish Church, see Bishop Morton's *Catholike Appeale for Protestants*, Lond. 1610. p. 324.

¹⁶ “ We have no testimony for them” (*i. e.* dogmatic traditions) “ in the holy Scriptures. Nor doth the primitive Church affirm she received them from the Apostles, as she did the written Word. Nor have they the perpetual consent and general approbation of the whole Church ever since. Nor are they frequently quoted, as the words of Scripture are, upon all occasions, by the doctors of the Church. Nor do we find them to be the doctrine which was constantly taught to the people. Nor is there any notice taken of them by the enemies of our faith: whose assaults are all against the Scriptures. In short, they are so far from having any true authority, that counterfeit testimonies and forged writings have been their greatest supporters. Besides the plain drift of them, which is not to make all men better, but to make some richer; and the manifest danger men are in, by many of them, to be drawn away from God, to put their trust and confidence in creatures.” A Discourse about Tradition; shewing what is meant by it, and what Tradition is to be received, and what Tradition is

to be rejected ; (by Bishop Patrick ;) Lond. 1683. p. 33.

¹⁷ Upon the fact, that the Scriptures were written from incidental calls, Bellarmine strangely founds an argument in favour of trusting permanently to unwritten traditions. The Apostles, he says, preached spontaneously, but never sat down to composition, without some particular necessity. “ *Deinde ad prædicandum viva voce non expectarunt Apostoli oblatam occasionem, vel necessitatem ; sed sponte sua, et ex proprio instituto perrexerunt : at ad scribendum non nisi necessitate quadam coacti animum applicuerunt.*” (Bellarm. Controv. I. 69.) He goes on to state from Eusebius, that St. Matthew, when about to travel abroad, to preach among the Gentiles, wrote his Gospel for the instruction of the converts whom he left behind ; that St. Mark wrote at the earnest request of the Christians at Rome ; and that St. Luke became an evangelist, because many inaccurate accounts of our Lord’s life and doctrine were in circulation. The Cardinal then cites Jerome to prove that St. John composed his Gospel in extreme old age, at the request of the Asian bishops, to stay the progress of Ebionite opinions. Of these statements, the first, although uncertain, and unconfirmed by any internal evidence, is by no means improbable. That St. Mark wrote for the use of the Roman Christians, and under the particular inspection of St. Peter, is rendered likely by the whole tenor of his Gospel. St. Luke himself informs us, that he was incited to become the historiographer of Jesus on account of the numerous relations professing to detail such information, and which, as

we must understand him, were not worthy of reliance. That St. John wrote his Gospel with a particular view to some erroneous opinion, or opinions, is evident upon the face of it ; and it is no less evident, that his object was the correction of errors affecting the divinity of Christ. Michaelis has advanced very good reasons for believing, that the Evangelist had chiefly in view the errors of Cerinthus, and of the Sabians, or followers of the Baptist, when he penned his work. (Bishop Marsh's *Michaelis*, c. vii. ss. 3, 4.) Michaelis has also (c. viii. 1, 2.) assigned two very probable causes for the composition of the Acts of the Apostles : namely, the necessity for an authentic relation of the manner in which Christ's promise of the Holy Spirit was fulfilled ; and the necessity of such relations as should establish Gentile claims to admission within the Christian Church. A general history, either of infant Christianity, or of St. Paul's labours, was obviously not St. Luke's object in writing the Acts. There appeared, probably, to be no great need of either. But there was, we may reasonably suppose, an urgent demand, in all quarters, for an authentic account of that Divine effusion, and of those miracles consequent upon it which gave attestation to the mission of the Apostles. Nor was the demand less imperious among the converted Jews, for such accounts as might reconcile them to an unreserved fellowship with Christianised Gentiles. Thus it is sufficiently established from direct testimony, and internal evidence, that we owe even the historical portions of the New Testament, those portions, that is, of Apostolic preaching, which, from their nature, were most

easily imprinted upon the memory, to a necessity, pressed upon the preachers themselves, of guarding against the inaccuracies of oral transmission.

¹⁸ The Epistle to the Romans appears to have been written as an antidote to the errors of Judaizing teachers. Neither St. Paul nor any other Apostle had hitherto preached in the mighty seat of empire. The Gospel had, however, found its way thither; probably first by means of some among those “strangers of Rome” who were at Jerusalem on the great day of Pentecost. That Israelitish preachers were active in pressing their peculiar views upon the Roman converts, as upon all others, there can be no question; and a knowledge of this fact seems to have drawn from St. Paul his noble Epistle to the infant Church arising round the palace of the Cæsars. He reasons, accordingly, against those mischievous opinions by which the Jews were wont to nurture their spiritual pride and carnal security. Every reader of ordinary discernment must observe the occasional, and even local character of the two Epistles to the Corinthians. The Epistle to the Galatians evidently flowed from the necessity of opposing attempts to engraft the Law of Moses upon the Gospel. Nor do St. Paul’s other Epistles, or the catholic Epistles, appear to be less incidental in character. It may safely be assumed, therefore, that the whole Canon of the New Testament arose from particular circumstances, which gradually called for its several parts. The Apostles instructed their converts in the truth; but necessarily leaving them, for the sake of evangelising other people, misrepresentations of their doctrine, demanding such corrections as the case allowed,

by writing, namely, were not slow in appearing. Oral tradition was thus shewn to be an unsafe depository of Divine knowledge, even while inspired teachers remained alive, to correct and explain what was misrepresented or misunderstood.

¹⁹ “ *Doctrina Evangelii, antequam conscriberetur, erat prius contra Judæorum et Gentium calumnias et contradictiones prædicatione Apostolorum, signis et prodigiis per totum terrarum orbem confirmanda, et assensione populorum credentium in omnibus terris comprobanda: ut certi essemus, ea quæ scripta essent, non esse dubia, incerta, aut parum firma, sed sicut Lucas ait, πεπληροφορουμένα, hoc est, a Deo, per Apostolos confirmata, et a primis fidelibus per totum mundum, ut certissimæ fidei comprobata.*” (Exam. Conc. Trident. per D. D. Martinum Chemnicium, Francof. 1596. p. 16.

²⁰ “ This tradition” (respecting the canonical books of Scripture) “ we own ; it being universal, continued, uninterrupted, and undenied. Though, in truth, this is *tradition* in another sense of the word ; not signifying the doctrine delivered unto us, but the manner and means of its delivery.” Patrick’s Discourse about Tradition, p. 15.

²¹ “ We reverently receive also the unanimous tradition or doctrine of the Church in all ages, which determines the meaning of holy Scripture, and makes it more clear and unquestionable in any point of faith, wherein we can find it hath declared its sense. For we look upon this tradition as nothing else but the *Scripture unfolded*: not a new thing, which is not in Scripture ; but the Scripture explained and made more evident. And thus some part of the Nicene Creed may be called a tra-

dition; as it hath expressly delivered unto us the sense of the Church of God, concerning that great article of our faith, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, *begotten of his Father before all worlds, and of the same substance with the Father.*

“ But this tradition supposes the Scripture for its ground, and delivers nothing but what the Fathers, assembled at Nice, believed to be contained there, and fetched from thence.” (Ibid. p. 18.) “ We allow that tradition gives us a considerable assistance in such points as are not in so many letters and syllables contained in the Scriptures, but may be gathered from thence by good and manifest reasoning. Or in plainer words, perhaps, whatsoever tradition justifies any doctrine, that may be proved by the Scriptures, though not found in express terms there, we acknowledge to be of great use, and readily receive and follow it; as serving very much to establish us more firmly in that truth, when we see all Christians have adhered to it.

“ This may be called a *confirming tradition*: of which we have an instance in Infant Baptism, which some ancient Fathers call an Apostolical tradition.” (Ibid. p. 22.)

“ True tradition is as great a proof against popery, as it is for Episcopacy. The very foundation of the pope’s empire, which is his succession in St. Peter’s supremacy, is utterly subverted by this: the constant tradition of the Church being evidently against it.” (Ibid. p. 23.)

“ It is commonly given out that we refuse all traditions, than which nothing is more false: for we refuse none truly so called; that is, doctrines delivered by Christ or his Apostles. No, we refuse

nothing at all, because it is unwritten ; but merely because we are not sure it is delivered by that authority to which we ought to submit.

“ Whatsoever is delivered unto us by our Lord and his Apostles we receive as the very word of God ; which we think sufficiently declared in the holy Scriptures. But if any can certainly prove, by any authority equal to that which brings the Scriptures to us, that there is any thing else delivered by them, we receive that also.” (Ibid. p. 26.)

“ It is true, the Fathers sometimes urge tradition as a proof of what they say. But we must know, that the Scriptures were not presently communicated among some barbarous nations ; and there were some heretics also who either denied the Scriptures, or some part of them : and in these cases it was necessary to appeal to the tradition that was in the Church ; and to convince them by the doctrine that was every where taught by all the bishops.” (p. 31.) “ But that (mark this, I pray you) of which they convinced them by this argument, was nothing but what was taught in the Scripture.”

“ Nullam enim potes traditionem Romanam proferre, quam nos improbemus, si illam toto terrarum orbe semper observatam esse eviceris.” (Gul. Whitaker. Edm. Campian. Jesuit. Christiana Responsio. Opp. Theol. Genev. 1610. tom. I. p. 9.)

“ Denique in rebus mediis, de quibus nihil Scriptura certi in alterutram partem statuit, morem populi Dei, majorumque instituta, concedo magni esse facienda.” (Id. de Sacris Literis, contra Duræum, lib. I. tom. i. 68.)

HOMILY
ON THE
CATHOLIC FAITH.

S E R M O

DE

FIDE CATHOLICA^a.

ÆLL criſten man ſceal æfter rihte cunnan ægðer hiſ pater noſter· ge hiſ cƿedan. Mið þam pater noſtre he ſceal hine gebiddan· mið þam cƿedan he ſceal hiſ geleafan getrymman. We habbað geſæd embe þæt pater noſter· nu we ƿillað ſecgan eoƿ þone geleafan þe on þa cƿedan ſtent· ſƿa ſƿa we ƿiſa Aƿuſtinuſ be þære halgan þrynerre trahtnode. An ſcrippend iſ eallra þinga gerepenlicra and ungerepenlicra· and we ſceolon on hine gelyfan· forþan þe he iſ ſoð god· and ana ælmihtig· ſe þe næfre ne onzann· ne anzinn næfde· ac he ſylf iſ anzinn· and he eallum geſceapum anzinn and oðſƿuman forgear· þæt hi beon mihton· and thæt hi hæfdon agen gecynd ſƿa ſƿa hiut þære godcundlican fadunge gelicode. Englaſ he ƿorhte· þaſ ſynd gaſtaſ and nabbað næne lichaman. Nýtenum and deor· fixaſ and fugelaf he geſceop on flæſce buton ſaple. Mannum he ſealde uppihtne gang· þa nýtenum he het gan alotene. Mannum he forgear hlaſ to biſgleoſan· and þam nýtenum gærr. Nu maſe ge gebroðra underſtandan gif ge ƿillað· þæt tra þing

^a Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 23. f. 16. Printed nearly entire in Whelock's Bede, from a MS. in the public library, at Cambridge, pp. 41, 420.

HOMILY

ON THE

CATHOLIC FAITH.

EVERY Cristen man should rightly know both his *Pater Noster* and his Creed. With the *Pater Noster* he should pray ; with the Creed he should settle his belief. We have spoken about the *Pater Noster*^a ; now we will explain to you the belief which stands in the Creed, according to the wise Augustine's mode of treating about the holy Trinity. There is one Creator of all things visible and invisible ; and we should believe in him, because he is true God, and alone almighty : who never began, nor had a beginning ; but he himself is the beginning, and he gave to all creatures a beginning and origin, that they might be, and that they might have their own kind just as it liked the Divine disposition. Angels he made ; which are spirits, and have no body. Cattle and wild beasts, fish and fowls he created in flesh, without a soul. To men he gave an upright gait ; the cattle he commanded to go with downward head. To men he gave bread for food ; and to the cattle, grass. Now may ye, brethren, understand, if ye will, that there are two things ; one is the Creator, the other is the creature. He is the Creator who created and made

^a In the preceding Homily.

rýndon· an iſ reýppend· oðer iſ Ʒerceanſt. þe iſ
 reýppend ſe þe Ʒerceop and Ʒeporhte ealle þing of
 nahte. Ðæt iſ Ʒerceanſt þæt ſe roða reýppend Ʒe-
 rceop· þæt rýnd æperſt heoſonar· and englar þe
 on heoſonon puniað· and rýððan þeoſ eorþe mid
 eallum þam þe hýne oneapdiað· and ſæ mid eallum
 þam þe hýne onſpimmað. Nu ealle þaſ þing rýnd
 mid anum naman Ʒenemnode Ʒerceanſt. þi næron
 æfre punizende· ac Ʒod hi Ʒerceop. Ða Ʒercean-
 ſta rýnd feala· an iſ ſe reýppend þe hi ealle Ʒe-
 rceop· ſe ana iſ ælmihtiz Ʒod. þe ƿær æfre· and
 æfre býð þurh punizende on him ſýlfum and þurh
 hine ſýlfne. Eriſ he on Ʒunne· and an Ʒinn hæfde·
 buton tſýn ne miht he beon ælmihtiz Ʒod. Soð-
 lice þæt Ʒerceanſt þe on Ʒann· and Ʒerceanen iſ
 næfð nane Ʒodcundnýrre. Forþi ælc eðriſt þæt
 þe Ʒod nýr· þæt iſ Ʒerceanſt· and þæt þe Ʒerceanſt
 nýr· þæt iſ Ʒod. Ðe Ʒod punað on þſýnýrre un-
 toðæledlic· and on annýrre anre Ʒodcundnýrre.
 Soðlice oðer iſ ſe fæder· oðer iſ ſe ſunu· oðer
 iſ ſe halga Ʒarſt· ac þeah hƿæðere þæra þneopa iſ
 an Ʒodcundnýrre· and Ʒelic ƿulðor· and efen ece
 mæzenþſýmnýrſ. Ælmihtiz Ʒod iſ ſe fæder· æl-
 mihtiz Ʒod iſ ſe ſunu· ælmihtiz Ʒod iſ ſe halga
 Ʒarſt. Ac þeah hƿæðere ne rýnd þſý ælmihtize
 Ʒodaſ· ac an ælmihtiz Ʒod. Ðſý hi rýnd on ha-
 dum and on naman· and an on Ʒodcundnýrre.
 Ðſý· forþi þe ſe fæder býð æfre fæder· and ſe
 ſunu býð æfre ſunu· and ſe halga Ʒarſt býð æfre
 halga Ʒarſt· and heopa nan ne apent of þam þe he
 iſ. Nu Ʒe habbað Ʒehýned ða halgan ƿſýnýrre·
 Ʒe ſceolon nu Ʒehýnan þa roþan annýrre. Soðlice
 ſe fæder· and ſe ſunu· and ſe halga Ʒarſt habbað
 an Ʒodcundnýrre· and an Ʒecýnd· and an ƿeoſc.

all things from nothing ; that is the creature which the true Creator created : first, namely, the heavens, and the angels who live in heaven ; and then, this earth with all that dwell therein, and the sea with all that swim therein. Now all these things are with one name, called Creation. They were not ever remaining, but God created them. The creatures are many ; the Creator who created them all is one ; who alone is Almighty God. He was ever, and ever will be remaining in himself, and through himself. If he began, and had a beginning, without doubt he could not be Almighty God. Truly, the creature which began, and is created, has no divinity. Therefore, every substance which is not God, that is a creature ; and that which is not a creature, is God. God remains in trinity, indivisible, and in the unity of one divinity. Truly the Father is one thing, the Son another, and the Holy Ghost another : yet nevertheless, of the three, the Divinity is one, the glory alike, and the majesty equally eternal. The Father is almighty God, the Son is almighty God, the Holy Ghost is almighty God. Yet, nevertheless, they are not three almighty Gods, but one almighty God. Three they are in persons, and in names, and one in divinity. Three ; because, the Father is ever Father, and the Son is ever Son, and the Holy Ghost is ever Holy Ghost ; and of them, no one ever changes from that which he is. Now ye have heard of the holy Trinity ; ye shall now hear of the true Unity. Truly the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost have one divinity, and one nature, and one work. The Father neither made nor makes any thing, without the Son and the Holy Ghost.

Ne forhte ge fæder nan þing· ne ne wýrcð· butan þam suna· oððe butan þam halgan gaste. Ne heora nan ne wýrcð nan þing butan oðrum· ac him eallum is an weorc· and an wæd· and an willa. Æfre wæs ge fæder· and æfre wæs ge sunu· and æfre wæs ge halga gast· an ælmihtig god. Se is fæder ge þe nis naðer ne geboren· ne gecceapen fram nanum oðrum· ge is fæder gehaten forþan þe he hæfð sunu· þone þe he of him sylfum gewerþýnde butan ælcere meder. Se fæder is god of nanum gode· ge sunu is god of þam fæder gode· ge halga gast is god forðgæppende of þam fæder and of þam suna. Ðar word wýnd weortlice gewæde· and eow is neod þæt we hi swutelice eow onweon. Þwæt is ge fæder· ælmihtig wecpend· na geworht· ne acenned· ac he sylf gewerþýnde bearn· him sylfum efen ece. Þwæt is ge sunu· he is þæs fæder wýrdom· and his word· and his miht· þurh þone he gecceow ealle þing and gefaðode. Nis ge sunu na geworht· ne gecceapen· ac he is acenned. Acenned he is· ac þeah hwæðere he is efen eald· and efen ece his fæder. Nis na swa on his acennednesse swa swa byð on ure acennednesse. Ðonne ge mann sunu gewerþýnd· and his cild acenned byð· ðonne byð ge fæder mara· and ge sunu læssa. Þwi swa· for þi þonne ge sunu wýxþ· þonne ealdað ge fæder. Ne milt ðu na gelice on mannum fæder and sunu. Ac ic ðe sylle byrne hu ðu godes acennednýsse þý bet understandan miht. Fýr acenð of him beorhtnýsse· and seo beorhtnýss is efen eald þam fýre. Nis na þæt fýr of þære beorhtnýsse· ac seo beorhtnýss is of þam fýre. Ðæt fýr acenð ða beorhtnýsse· ac hit ne byð næfre buton þære beorht-

Nor of them, does any one do any work without the others ; but to them all is one work, and one counsel, and one will. Ever was the Father, and ever was the Son, and ever was the Holy Ghost, one almighty God. The Father is he who is neither born nor created from any other : he is called Father, because he has a Son, whom he generated from himself without any mother. The Father is God of no God, the Son is God of the Father God, the Holy Ghost is God, proceeding from the Father and from the Son. These words are shortly said, and it is needful for you that we explain them to you more clearly. What is the Father? The almighty Creator ; not made, nor begotten, but he himself begat a Son, equally eternal with himself. What is the Son? He is the Father's wisdom, and his word, and his might ; through whom he created all things, and set them in order. The Son is not either made or created, but he is begotten. Begotten he is, yet nevertheless he is equally old, and equally eternal with his Father. It is not thus in his begetting as it is in our begetting. When a man begets a son, and his child is born, then is the father greater, and the son less. Why so? Because, while the son grows, the father is becoming old. Among men, thou findest not alike father and son. But I give thee an example, how thou mightest better understand God's generation. Fire generates brightness of itself, and the brightness is equally old with the fire. The fire is not from that brightness, but the brightness is from the fire. The fire generates the brightness ; but it is never without that brightness. Now thou hast heard that the brightness is just as old as the fire from

nýrre. Nu þu gehýrft þæt reo beophhtnýrr is
 eall swa eald swa þæt fýr þe heo ofcýmð. geþara
 nu for þi þæt god mihte gertnýnan eall swa eald
 bearn. and eal swa ece swa he sylf is. Se þe mæg
 understandan þæt ure hælend criht is on þære
 godcundnýrre eall swa eald swa his fæder. he þan-
 cige þæs gode. and blisrige. se þe understandan
 ne mæg. he hit sceal gelyfan þæt he hit under-
 standan mæg. forþan þæs ritegan word ne mæg
 beon afdod. þe þur cwæð. buton ge hit gelyfan
 ne mæge ge hit understandan. Nu ge habbað ge-
 hýned þæt se sunu is of þam fæder butan ælcum
 anginne. forþan þe he is þæs fæder riðom. and
 he þæs æfre mid þam fæder. and æfre býð.
 Uton nu gehýfan be þam halgan garte. hwæt he
 sý. þe is se willa and seo soðe lufu þæs fæder
 and þæs suna. Ðurh þone sýnd ealle þing gelif-
 færte. and gehealdene. be þam is þur gecweden.
 godes gart gefylð ealne ýmbehrýrft middan ear-
 der. and he healt ealle þing. and he hæfð ingehýd
 ælces gereorder. Nis he gepohht. ne gersceapen.
 ne acenned. ac he is forðstearpende. þæt is of-
 gangende of þam fæder and of þam suna. Ðam he
 is gelic. and efen ece. Nis se halga gart na sunu.
 forþan þe he nis na acenned. ac he gæð of þam
 fæder and of þam suna gelice. forþan þe he is
 heofa beorna willa and lufu. Lrft cwæð þur be
 him on his godspelle. se forfor gart þe ic eow
 arendan wille. gart þære soðfærtnesse. þe of mi-
 num fæder gæð. he cýð gecýðnýrre be me. þæt
 is. he is min gewita þæt ic eow godes sunu. And
 eac se rihta geleafa ur tæcð þæt se sceolon gely-
 fan on þone halgan gart. he is se liffærtenda god
 se gæð of þam fæder and of þam suna. þu gæð

which it comes; admit now, therefore, that God might generate a Son just as old, and just as eternal as he himself is. Let him who can understand that our Saviour Crist is just as old as his Father thank God, and rejoice: let him who cannot understand it believe it, that he may understand it; for the prophet's words cannot be in vain, who says, Unless ye believe it, ye cannot understand it. Now ye have heard that the Son is of the Father without any beginning; because he is the Father's wisdom, and he was ever with the Father, and ever will be. Come, now hear concerning the Holy Ghost, what he is. He is the will and the true love of the Father and of the Son; by whom all things are quickened and upholden: of whom it is thus said; God's Spirit fills the whole circumference of the world, and he holds all things, and he has a knowledge of every language. He is not made, nor created, nor begotten; but he is proceeding: that is, coming from the Father and the Son; to whom he is like, and (with whom) he is equally eternal. The Holy Ghost is not the Son, because he is not begotten; but he goeth from the Father and the Son equally; because he is the will and love of them both. Crist speaks thus of him in his Gospel; the Comforter, whom I will send to you, the Spirit of Truth, he shall testify of me; that is, he is my witness that I am the Son of God. And also the right belief teaches us, that we should believe in the Holy Ghost; he is the God of life, who goeth from the Father and from the Son. How goeth he from them? The Son is the Father's wisdom, ever from the Father; and the Holy Ghost is the will of them both, ever from them both.

he of him. Se sunu is þær fæder wifdom. æfre
 of þam fæder. and se halga gæst is heora beorna
 willa æfre of him þam. Is forþi þonne æfre an
 fæder. se þe æfre is fæder. and an sunu se þe
 æfre byð sunu. and an halig gæst se þe æfre is
 halig gæst. Æfre wæs se fæder butan angyrne.
 and æfre þæs se sunu mid þam fæder. forþan þe
 he is þæs fæder wifdom. Æfre wæs se halga gæst
 se þe is heora beorna willa and lufu. Nis se fæder
 of nanum oðrum. ac he wæs æfre. Se sunu is
 acenned of þam fæder. ac he wæs æfre on þæs
 fæder bryne. forþan þe he is his wifdom. and
 he is of þam fæder eall þæt he is. Æfre wæs se
 halga gæst. forþan ðe he is swa se ær cwædon.
 willa and soð lufu þæs fæder and þæs suna. Soð-
 lice willa and lufu getaenad an þing. Dæt þæt þu
 sylt þæt þu lufast. and ðæt þæt þu nelt þæt þu ne
 lufast. Seo sunne ðe ofer us seinð is lichamlice
 gesceapt and hæfð swa þeah þreo agennýssa on
 hyne. An is seo lichamlice eðwigt. þæt is þære
 sunnan trenwel. Oðer is seo leoma. oððe beorht-
 nýss æfre of þære sunnan. seo þe onliht ealne
 middan earð. Driðde is seo hætu þe mid þam
 leoman becynd to us. Seo leoma is æfre of þære
 sunnan and æfre mid hyne. And se ælmihtiga
 godes sunu is æfre of þam fæder acenned. and
 æfre mid him winigende. Be þam cwæð se apostol
 þæt he wære his fæder wuldres beorhtnýss. Dære
 sunnan hætu gæð of hyne. and of hyne leoman.
 and se halga gæst gæð æfre of þam fæder and of
 þam suna gelice. Be þam is þus awriten. nis nan
 þe hine behýðan mæge fram his hætan. Fæder
 and sunu and halig gæst ne mægon beon ætgædere
 genamode. ac hi ne beoð swa þeah na hwar tot-

There is, therefore, one Father, who is ever the Father ; and one Son, who is ever the Son ; and one Holy Ghost, who is ever the Holy Ghost. Ever was the Father without beginning ; and ever was the Son with the Father, because he is the Father's wisdom. Ever was the Holy Ghost ; who is the will and love of them both. The Father is not from any other, but he was ever. The Son is begotten from the Father ; but he was ever in the Father's bosom, because he is his wisdom, and he is from the Father all that he is. Ever was the Holy Ghost, because he is, as we before said, the will and true love of the Father and of the Son. Truly, will and love betoken one thing. That which thou wilt, that thou lovest ; and that which thou wilt not, that thou lovest not. The sun which shines above us is a bodily creature, and has three properties in itself : one is the bodily substance, namely, the sun's orb ; another is the light, or brightness, ever from the sun, which enlightens all the world ; the third is the heat which comes to us with the light. The light is ever from the sun, and ever with it. And the Son of almighty God is ever begotten from the Father, and ever dwelling with him. Of whom the Apostle says, that he is *the brightness of his Father's glory*. The sun's heat goeth from it, and from its light ; and the Holy Ghost goeth ever from the Father and from the Son alike. Of which it is thus written, There is no one who can hide himself from its heat. Father and Son and Holy Ghost cannot be named together ; but they are not, nevertheless, any where separated. The almighty God is not threefold, but he is a Trinity. The Father is God, and the Son

pæmde. Nis se ælmihtiga god na þrýfeald· ac is
 þrýnnýrr. God is se fæder· and se sunu is god·
 and se halga gart is god. Na þrý godas· ac hi
 ealle þrý an ælmihtig god. Se fæder is wifdom of
 nanum oþrum wifdome. Se sunu is wifdom of þam
 wifan fæder. Se halga gart is wifdom. Ac þeah
 hwæðere hi gýnd ealle ætgewædere an wifdom. Eft
 se fæder is soð lufu· and se sunu soð lufu· and
 se halga gart is soð lufu· and hi ealle ætgewædere
 an god· and an soð lufu. Eac swýlce is se fæder
 gart and halig· and se sunu is gart and halig un-
 tswýlce· þeah hwæðere se halga gart is gýnderlice
 gehaten halig gart· ðæt þæt hi ealle þrý gýnd ge-
 mænelice. Swa micel gelicnýr is on þisse halgan
 þrýnnýrre þæt se fæder nis na mare þonne se
 halga gart· ne nan heora an nis na læsse þonne
 eall seo þrýnnýrr. Swa hwær swa heora an býð
 þær hi beoð ealle þrý· æfre an god untodæledlic.
 Nis heora nan mare þonne oðer· ne nan læssa
 þom oðer· ne nan beforan oðrum· ne nan bæ-
 rtan , um· forþan swa hwæt swa læssa býð þonne
 god þæt ne býð na god· þæt þæt laƿor býð þæt
 hæfð anƿinn· ac god næfð nan anƿinn. Nis
 na se fæder ana þrýnnýrr· oððe se sunu þrýn-
 nýrr· oððe se halga gart þrýnnýrr· ac þas þrý
 hadas gýndon an god on anre godcundnýrre.
 Donne þu geliþst nemman þone fæder· þonne
 understent þu þæt he hæfð sunu· eft ðonne ðu
 criest sunu þu wast butan tƿeon þæt he hæfð fæ-
 der. Eft se geliƿað þæt se halga gart is ægðer
 ge þæs fæder ge þæs suna gart. Ne beƿæce nan
 mann hine gýlfne swa þæt he secge oððe geliƿe
 þæt þrý godas gýndon· oððe ænig had on þære
 halgan þrýnnýrre gý unmihtiga þonne oðer. Ælc

is God, and the Holy Ghost is God. Not three Gods, but all these three one almighty God. The Father is wisdom from no other wisdom. The Son is wisdom from the wise Father. The Holy Ghost is wisdom. Yet, nevertheless, they are altogether one wisdom. Again, the Father is true love, and the Son true love, and the Holy Ghost true love ; and all of them together one God, and one true love. Also as the Father is a Spirit and holy, so the Son is a Spirit and holy undoubtedly ; yet, nevertheless, the Holy Ghost is especially called Holy Ghost ; that, namely, which they all three are in common. So great is the likeness in this holy Trinity, that the Father is not greater than the Holy Ghost ; nor is any one of them less than all the Trinity. Wheresoever one of them is, there they all three are, one indivisible God. No one of them is greater than another, nor one less than another, nor one before another, nor one after another ; for whatsoever is less than God, that is not God : that which is later hath a beginning ; but God hath no beginning. The Father alone is not the Trinity, nor is the Son the Trinity, nor is the Holy Ghost the Trinity ; but these three Persons are one God in one Divinity. When thou hearest the Father named, then thou understandest that he hath a Son ; again, when thou mentionest the Son, thou knowest without doubt that he hath a Father. Again, we believe that the Holy Ghost is the Spirit both of the Father and of the Son. Let no man deceive himself so, that he say or believe that there are three Gods, or that any Person in the holy Trinity is less mighty than another. Each of the three is God ; yet, nevertheless, they are all one

þæra þreora iſ ƿod· ac þeah hƿæðere hi ealle an
 ƿod· ƿorþan þe hi ealle habbað an ƿecýnd· and ane
 ƿodeundnýſſe· and ane eðſiſte· and an ƿeþeahc·
 and an ƿeoſe· and ane mægenþſýmnýſſe· and
 ƿelic ƿuldoſ· and efen ece ƿice. Iſ hƿæðere ſe
 ſunu ana ƿeſlære-hamod and ƿeboren to menn of
 þam halƿan mædene marian. Ne ƿearð ſe ƿæder
 mid menniſcnýſſe beſanzen· ac hƿæðere he a-
 renðe hiſ ſunu to ure alýſednýſſe· and him æſſe
 mid ƿæſ ægðer ƿe on hiſ liſe· ƿe on hiſ þſop-
 unge· and on hiſ æſiſte· and on hiſ upſtize. Eac
 eall ƿoder ƿelaðung andet on þam ƿihtum ƿelea-
 fan þæt criſt iſ acenned of þam clænan mædene
 marian and of þam halƿan ƿarſte. Niſ ſe halƿa
 ƿarſt þeah hƿæðere criſtes ƿæder· ne nan criſten
 man þæt næſſe ſceal ƿelýfan. Ac ſe halƿa ƿarſt
 iſ ƿilla þæſ ƿæder and þæſ ſuna· ƿorþi þonne
 ſſiðe ƿihtlice iſ aſſiten on urum ƿeleafan þæt
 criſtes menniſcnýſſ ƿearð ƿerſemmed þurh þone
 halƿan ƿillan. Beheald þaſ ſunnan mid ƿleapnýſſe·
 on þære iſ ſſa ƿe æſ cƿædon hætu and beorht-
 nýſſ· ac ſeo hætu ðriƿð· and ſeo beorhtnýſſ
 onliht· oðer þing ðeð ſeo hætu· and oðer ſeo
 beorhtnýſſ· and þeah ðe hi ne maƿon beon to-
 ƿæmðe belimpð hƿæðere þeah ſeo hæðung to þære
 hætan and ſeo onlihting belimpð to þære beorht-
 nýſſe. Ða eac criſt ana underſſenz þa menniſ-
 cnýſſe and na ſe ƿæder ne ſe halƿa ƿarſt· ðeah
 hƿæðere hi ƿæron mid him on eallum hiſ ƿeoſ-
 eum· and on ealre hiſ ƿære. We ſſſecað embe
 ƿod ðeadiſe be undeadiſeum· týððre be ælmiht-
 ium· earumingar be mildheortum· ac hƿa mæg
 ƿeoſðfullice ſſſecan be þam þe iſ unarceƿendlic.
 þe iſ butan ƿemete· ƿorþi he iſ æghƿær· he iſ

God ; because they all have one nature, and one divinity, and one substance, and one counsel, and one work, and one majesty, and like glory, and equally eternal dominion. The Son, however, alone is incarnate, and born as a man of the holy Virgin Mary. The Father was not invested with human nature, but, however, he sent his Son for our redemption, and was ever with him, both in his life, and in his passion, and in his resurrection, and in his ascension. Also all God's congregation confesses, according to the right belief, that Crist was born of the pure Virgin Mary, and of the Holy Ghost. Nevertheless, the Holy Ghost is not Crist's father, nor shall any Cristen man ever believe that. But the Holy Ghost is the will of the Father and of the Son : hence, then, very rightly it is written in our belief, that Crist's humanity was accomplished through the holy will. Behold the sun with prudence ; in it are, as we before said, heat and brightness ; and the heat dryeth, and the brightness enlighteneth : the heat doeth one thing, and the brightness another ; and though they cannot be separated, yet the heating belongeth to the heat, and the lighting belongeth to the brightness. So also Crist alone undertook the human nature, and not the Father nor the Holy Ghost ; nevertheless, they were with him in all his works and in all his course. We speak concerning God ; mortals, of immortal ; weak, of almighty ; miserable, of merciful : but who can worthily speak of one who is ineffable ? He is without measure, for he is every where ; he is without number, for he is ever ; he is without weight, for he sustains all creatures without fatigue ; and he arranged them all under

butan getele· forþan he iſ æfre· he iſ butan
 hefe forþan he hylt ealle gerceafta butan ger-
 pince· and he hi ealle gelogode on ðam þrým þin-
 gum· þæt iſ on gemete· and on getele· and on
 hefe. Ac riſe ge þæt nan man ne mæg fullice
 embe god ſpreccan þonne ge ſurðon þa gerceafta
 þe he gerceop ne mazon armeagan ne aſpeccan.
 Þra mæg mid wordum þære heofonan ſpæterunge
 aſcegan. Oððe hpa þære eorþan pærtm-bærnyſſe.
 Oððe hpa hepað genihtumlice ealra tida ýmbh-
 yſſe. Oððe hpa ealle þa oðre þing. Ðonne ge
 ſurþon ða lichamlican ðing ðe ge onlociað ne ma-
 zon fullice befor mid ure geryhðe. Efre þu ge-
 ryhrt þone mannan beforan þe· ac on ðære tide
 þe þu hiſ neh geryhrt ðu ne geryhrt na hiſ hrieg.
 Eall ſpa gif þu ſumne clað ſceapart ne miht þu
 hine ealne togædere gereon· ac penrt abutan þæt
 þu ealne hine gereo. Þwile pundor iſ gif ge ælmiht-
 tiga god iſ unareczendlic and unbefanzenlic· ge
 þe æghwær iſ eall and nahpar todæled. Nu ſineað
 ſum undeop-ðancol man hu god mæge beon æghwær
 ætgædere and nahpar todæled. Beheald þa ſun-
 nan hu heage heo aſtilð· and hu heo aſent hyne
 leoman geond ealne middan eard· and hu heo on-
 lilt ealle ðar eorðan þe mancýnn on eardiað· ſpa
 hpa þe ſpa heo up aſpſineð on ærne meſzen heo
 ſeinð on hieruſalem and on rome bým and on
 þiſſum earde and on eallum eardum ætgædere·
 and hwædere heo iſ gerceaft and gæð be godes
 dichte. Þræt penrt ðu hu micle ſpildor iſ godes
 andſpeardnyſſ· and hiſ miht· and hiſ neorung æg-
 hwær. Þum ne riðſtent nan þing· naðor ne ſtæ-
 nen peall· ne hwyden pah· ſpa ſpa hi riðſtandað
 ðære ſunnan. Þum niſ nan ðing digle ne uncud.

these three things ; that is, under measure, and under number, and under weight. But ye know that no man can fully speak concerning God, when we cannot even investigate and explain the creatures which he created. Who can with words describe the host of heaven ? or who the earth's fertility ? Or who praiseth sufficiently the vicissitude of all the seasons ? or who all other things ? We cannot, then, fully take with our sight even the corporeal things upon which we look. Behold ! thou seest a man before thee ; but in the time when thou seest his face, thou seest not his back. Also, if thou examinest some cloth, thou canst not see it altogether, but goest about, that thou mayest see it all. What wonder is it, if the almighty God is ineffable and incomprehensible ; who is every where whole, and no where divided ? Now, a shallow-thinking man considereth how God can be every where together, and nowhere divided. Behold the sun, how high it ascends, and how it sends its light over the whole world, and how it lights all this earth which mankind inhabit ; so that it no sooner riseth at daybreak than it shineth upon Hierusalem, and upon the city Rome, and upon this land, and upon all lands together ; and yet it is a creature, and goeth by God's appointment. How much completer, think thou, must be God's presence, and his might, and his visitation every where. Him nought withstands ; neither strong fence, nor firm house-wall ; as these withstand the sun. Nothing is concealed from him, nor unknown to him. Thou examinest a man's face, and God examineth his heart. God's Spirit trieth all men's hearts, and those that believe

Ðu sceapast þær mannes nebb and god sceapað his
 heortan. Godes gast afandað eallra manna heor-
 tan. and þa ðe on hine gelyfað and hine lufiað þa
 he clænrað and zegladað mid his neorunge. and
 þæra ungeleaffulra manna heortan he forbyð and
 onfæunað. Wite eac ge hwa þæt ælc mann hæfð
 þreo þing on him sylfum untodæledlice and togæ-
 dere pyrcende. swa swa god cwæð þa þa he æfter
 mann geseop he cwæð. uton pyrcan mann to ure
 gelycnýrre. and he forhte þa adam to his anlic-
 nýrre. On hwylcum dæle hæfð se mann godes
 anlicnýrre on him. On þære sawle. na on þam
 lichaman. Ðær mannes sawl hæfð on hýre ge-
 cýnde þære halgan þrýnnýrre anlicnýrre. forðan
 ðe heo hæfð on hýre þreo þing. þæt is gemýnd.
 and andgite. and willa. Ðurh þæt gemýnd se man
 gedencð þa þing þæt he gehýrð. oððe gereah.
 oððe geleornode. Ðurh þæt andgite he understent
 ealle þa þing þæt he gehýrð oððe geryhð. Of þam
 willan cunað gedolhtas. and word. and weorc æg-
 ðer ge gode ge yfele. An sawl is and an lif and an
 eadrig. seo þe hæfð þas þreo ðing on hýre togæ-
 dere pyrcende untodæledlice. forði þær þæt ge-
 mýnd byð. þær byð þæt andgite. and se willa. and
 æfre hi beoð togedere. Ðeah hwæðere nis nan
 þæra þreora seo sawl. ac seo sawl ðurh þæt ge-
 mýnd gemanð. þurh þæt andgite heo understent.
 þurh þone willan he wile swa hwæt swa hýre lýcað.
 and heo is hwæðere an sawl and an lif. Nu hæfð
 heo forði godes anlicnýrre on hýre. forþan þe
 heo hæfð ðreo ðing on hýre untodæledlice pyrc-
 ende. Is hwæðere se mann an mann and na þrýn-
 nýrr. God soðlice fæder and sunu and halga gast
 þurh punað on þrýnnýrre hada. and on annýrre

in him and love him, he cleanseth, and gladdeneth with his visiting ; and unbelieving men's hearts he avoideth and shunneth. Know also, every one, that every man hath three things in himself indivisibly, and working together : for God said when he first created man, *Come*, said he, *let us make man after our likeness*: and he made Adam after his image. In which part hath man God's image in itself? In the soul, not in the body. Man's soul hath in its nature the image of the holy Trinity ; for it hath three things in it, namely, memory and understanding and will. Through memory man thinketh over the things which he has heard or seen or learned. Through understanding he comprehends all the things that he hears or sees. From the will come thoughts and words and works, both good and evil. There is one soul, and one life, and one substance ; which hath these three things working together in it indivisibly : for where memory is, there is understanding and will ; and these ever are together. Yet, nevertheless, the soul is no one of the three ; but the soul, through memory, observeth ; through understanding, comprehendeth ; through will, it willeth whatsoever it liketh ; and it is, notwithstanding, one soul and one life. Now hath it, therefore, God's image in itself, because it hath three things in itself indivisibly working. Man, however, is one man, and not a trinity. God truly, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, continueth in a trinity of Persons, and in the unity of one Divinity. Man is not dwelling in trinity as God is ; but he hath, notwithstanding, God's image in his soul through the three things which we mentioned before. A certain heretical man was called Arrius,

anre Ʒodcundnýrre. Nis na re mann on ðrýn-
 nýrre punizende swa swa Ʒod· ac he hæfð hræðere
 Ʒoder anlicnýrre on his swale· þurh þa þreo þing
 þe we ær cwædon. Arriur hatte sum Ʒedpol mann
 re flate wið ænne birceop þe wæs Ʒenemned alexan-
 der· wis and riht-Ʒelýfed. Ða cwæð re Ʒedpol
 mann þæt crist Ʒoder sunu ne miht na beon his
 fæder Ʒelic· ne swa mihtig swa swa he· and cwæð
 þæt re fæder wære ær re sunu· and nam byrne
 he mannum hu ælc sunu byð Ʒingra þonne re fæ-
 der on ðisum life. Ða cwæð re halga birceop ale-
 xander him toƷeanes· God wæs æfre and æfre
 wæs his wifdom of him acenned. Se wifdom is his
 sunu eall swa mihtig swa re fæder. Ða beƷeat
 re Ʒedpola þæs carenes fultum to his Ʒedwýlde·
 and cwæð Ʒemot onƷean ðone birceop· and wolde
 ƷebýƷan eall þæt folc to his Ʒedwýldum. Ða
 raode re birceop ane miht on Ʒoder cýrcan and
 elýpode to his drihtne and þur cwæð. Ðu
 ælmihtiga Ʒod dem rihtne dom betwux me and
 arrium. Bi comon ða ðær on merƷen to ðam Ʒe-
 mote. Ða cwæð re Ʒedpola to his Ʒerefum þæt he
 wolde Ʒang embe his neode forð. Ða ða he to
 Ʒange com and he Ʒeræt· ða Ʒepand him ut eall his
 inneƷarpe æt his rettle· and he ræt þær deað.
 Ða Ʒerputelode Ʒod þæt he wæs swa Ʒeamtigod on
 his innoðe swa swa he wæs on his Ʒeleafan. þe
 wolde don crist lærran þonne he is· and his Ʒod-
 cundnýrre purðmýnt raman. Ða Ʒearð him swa
 býrmorlic deað Ʒereald swa swa he wel wýrðe wæs.
 Oðer Ʒedpol man wæs re hatte sabellur· he cwæð
 þæt re fæder wære ða ða he wolde fæder· and eft
 ða ða he wolde he wære sunu· and eft ða ða he
 wolde wære halig Ʒarst· and wære forði an Ʒod.

who contended with a bishop that was named Alexander, wise, and right-believed. Then said the heretical man, that Crist, God's Son, could not be like his Father, nor so mighty quite as he ; and said, that the Father was before the Son ; and took an example from men, how every son is younger than his father in this life. Then said the holy bishop, Alexander, against him ; God was ever, and ever was his wisdom, begotten of him. The wisdom is his Son, quite as mighty as the Father. Then the heretic got the Caser's aid for his heresy, and called a council against the bishop, and wished to turn all the people to his errors. Then the bishop passed a wakeful night in God's church, and called upon his Lord, and thus said : Thou, almighty God, judge right judgment betwixt me and Arius. They came then there in the morning to the council. Then said the heretic to his companions, that he wished to go out for his necessary purpose. Then he came to the privy, and sat down. Then all his entrails turned out at his stool, and he sat there dead. Thus God, by the evacuation of his intestines, manifested that he was equally empty in his belief. He wished to make Crist less than he is, and diminish the honour of his divinity. Thus was assigned to him a disgraceful death, as he well deserved. Another heretical man there was, who was called Sabellius : he said that the Father was Father when he would ; and, again, when he would he was the Son ; and, again, when he would he was the Holy Ghost : and that he was thus one God. Then this heretic perished with his heresy. Now, again, the Jewish folk that slew Christ, as he wished and allowed, say that

Ða forpearð eac ðer gedpola mid hƳr gedpýlde.
 Nu eft þæt iudeisc folc þe cƳrt ofrlogon swa swa
 he swýlf wolde and geðarode· secgað þæt hi willað
 gelyfan on þone fæder and na on þone sunu þe
 heora magas ofrlogon. þeora geleafa is naht·
 and hi for þi lorað. For ure alýfednesse cƳrt
 geðarode þæt hi hine ofrlogon· hit ne miht eall
 mancýnn gedon gif he swýlf nolde. Ac se halga
 fæder geseop and geporhte mancýnn þurh hƳr
 sunu· and he wolde þurh þone ýlean ur alýfan
 fram helle wite þa þa se forwýrhte wæron. Bu-
 tan ælce se þrowunge he miht ur habban· ac him
 þurhte þæt unrihtlic. Ac se deofol forwýrhte hine
 swýlfne þa þa he tihhte þæt iudeisc folc to þæs hæ-
 lenderes slege· and se wurðon alýfede þurh hƳr un-
 reýldigan deað fram ecan deaðe. We habbað þone
 geleafan þe cƳrt swýlf tæhte hƳr apostolum and hi
 ealle mancýnne· and þone geleafan god hæfð mid
 manegum pundrum getrýmmed and gefærtnod.
 AneƳt cƳrt þurh hine swýlfne ðumbe and deafe
 and healte and blinde· rode and hƳeoplice ge-
 hælde· and ða deaðan to life aƳende· and riððan
 þurh hƳr apostolas and oðre halige menn þas ýlean
 pundra geporhte. Nu eac on urum tīman gehwær
 ðær halige menn hi Ƴerðað æt heora deaðum ba-
 num Lod wýrcð feala pundra· to þi þæt he wile
 folces geleafan mid þam pundrum getrýmman.
 Ne wýrcð god na þas pundra æt nanes iudeisces
 mannes byrgene· ne æt nanes oðes gedpolan· ac
 æt riht-gelyfedra manna byrgenum· ða ðe gelyf-
 don on þa halgan þrýmýrre· and on roðe annýr-
 re anre godcundnýrre. Wite ge hƳra eac þæt nan
 man ne mot beon tupa gefulod· ac gif se man
 æfter hƳr fullurhte aƳlde se gelyfað þæt he mage

they will believe in the Father, and not in the Son, whom their great men slew. Their belief is naught, and hence they perish. For our redemption, Crist allowed that they should slay him : all mankind could not have done it, if he himself had been unwilling. But the holy Father created and made mankind through his Son, and he desires through the same to redeem us from hell-punishment, when we were utterly undone. Without any suffering he could have saved us, but he thought that improper. But the Devil utterly ruined himself when he enticed the Jewish folk to the Saviour's slaughter ; and he even released us, through his innocent death, from eternal death. We have the belief which Crist himself taught to his apostles, and they to all mankind ; and this belief God hath, with many wonders, confirmed and established. First, Crist through himself healed the dumb, and deaf, and halt, and blind, the mad and leprous, and sent the dead to life : and since, through his apostles and other holy men, he has wrought the same wonders. Now also in our times, where holy men rest, at their dead bones God worketh many wonders ; because that he wills to confirm folk's belief with those wonders. God worketh not these wonders at any Jewish man's tomb, nor at any other heretic's ; but at right-believing men's tombs, who have believed in the holy Trinity, and in the true unity of one Divinity. Know also, every one, that no man may be twice baptised ; but if a man lapse after his baptism, we believe that he may be preserved, if he repent of his sins with weeping, and by the teaching of learned men diligently amend them. We should believe that every man's soul is created

beon gehealden gif he his synna mid pope beheop-
 rað and be lapeopa tæcunze hi georne gebet. We
 sceolon gelyfan þæt ælces mannes sawol bið þurh
 god geseapen. ac hwæðere heo ne byð na of
 godes azenum gecynde. Ðær mannes lichaman
 antimber byð of þam fæder and of þære meder.
 ac god geseopð þone lichaman of þam antimbre.
 and aget on þone lichaman sawle. Ne byð seo
 sawol nahpar punigende ænor. ac god hi geseopð
 þær rihte and beret on þone lichaman. and læt hi
 habban azenne cyne. swa heo synige. swa heo
 synna forbuze. Ðeah hwæðere heo behofað æfre
 godes fultumes þæt heo mæge synna forbuza. and
 eft to hyre sceppend gecuman þurh gode geeap-
 nunga. forþan þe nan man ne deð butan gode nan
 þing to gode. Eac we sceolon gelyfan þæt ælc li-
 chama ðe sawle underfeng sceal arisan on domes-
 dæg mid þam ylcan lichaman þe he nu hæfð. and
 sceal onfon edlean ealra his dæda. Ðonne habbað
 þa godan ece lif mid gode. and he sylf þa mede
 ælcum be his geeapnunge. Ða synfullan beoð
 on helle wite à þrowigende. and heora wite byð eac
 gemetegod ælcum be his geeapnunge. Uton
 forþi geeapnian þæt ece lif mid gode þurh þine
 geleafan. and þurh gode geeapnunga. se þe þurh-
 punað on ðrynnýrre an ælmihtig god à on ec-
 nýrre. AMEN.

by God ; yet, however, it is not of God's own nature. The matter of man's body is from the father and the mother ; but God forms the body of that matter, and sends a soul into the body. The soul is nowhere staying previously ; but God createth it at once, and placeth it in the body, and alloweth it to have its own choice, whether it will sin, or avoid sin. Yet, however, it always needeth God's aid, that it may avoid sins, and come again to its Creator through good deservings ; because no man doeth any thing good without God. Also we should believe that every body which containeth a soul shall arise in the day of judgment, with the same body that it now hath, and shall receive the reward of all its deeds. Then the good will have eternal life with God, and he will give to every one the reward according to his deserts. The sinful will be ever suffering in hell punishment ; and their punishment also will be measured to each according to his deserts. Come, then, let us earn that eternal life with God through this belief, and through good deservings, who remaineth in trinity, one almighty God for ever and ever. AMEN.

SERMON II.

SCRIPTURE, AND MISCELLANEOUS DOCTRINES,
OF THE ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH.

2 Thess. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

VARIOUS allegations were offered to your notice, in the last Discourse, against unwritten tradition, as an authority for articles of faith. Upon the present occasion, it will be first inquired how far this question is affected generally by the views of scriptural sufficiency appearing in monuments of Anglo-Saxon antiquity. Your attention will afterwards be invited to the traditions of our ancient Church respecting the sacred Canon, and also respecting certain religious principles unconnected with controversies of prominent importance.

As an introduction to the whole inquiry, you may, perhaps, allowably be reminded, that some controversies are incapable of decision from direct testimony. Before a particular

principle has been expressly and solemnly maintained, an express and solemn denial of it is, obviously, not to be expected. A chain of evidence, inconsistent with its maintenance, is the most that we can reasonably hope to find under such circumstances. Upon this understanding those must proceed who seek to know the tradition of any ancient Church as to the sufficiency of Scripture. Never, until the Trentine council sat, were holy writ and unwritten tradition authentically placed upon a footing of perfect equality. Anterior documents, therefore, are not likely to supply any direct and solemn assertion of a contrary principle.

In assertions, however, of that principle, sufficiently unequivocal, though not perfectly direct, Anglo-Saxon monuments are very far from wanting. The most eminent divines of ancient England were, indeed, universally scripturists: a fact, in itself enough to raise no mean presumption that our distant ancestry looked upon the holy books as containing all that God was known to have revealed. Now, those who acknowledge an unwritten word have usually treated the sacred volume with considerable reserve. Facilities for comparing it with such alleged disclosures from on high, as are found not in its pages, appear

to have been esteemed undesirable for ordinary minds. Hence, wherever means are industriously supplied for diffusing widely a knowledge of the Bible, and men are incited generally to use them, *there*, we may reasonably conclude, prevailed no suspicion of danger lurking in the task. It could scarcely have been feared, lest the reading of God's indisputable word should undermine the authority of other revelations vouchsafed, it is alleged, to man, but, certainly, in a manner far less satisfactory. That Ante-Norman England was, however, free from any such apprehension, is attested sufficiently by the conduct of her most illustrious luminaries. Among these honoured names, few, if any, will be found affording not examples of a religious care to spread, on every side, an acquaintance with that holy book which ministers to hungry souls "the bread of life^a." Bede, especially, worthily and universally surnamed the Venerable, evinced, by unceasing labours upon Scripture, that he had learned from his great authority, St. Austin¹, to consider Christian erudition as contained within the sacred volume. Nor does that glory of ancient England, that wonder indeed of the age which gave him birth, omit to press it upon all men,

^a St. John vi. 35.

as a bounden duty, that they seek diligently such a knowledge of the recorded “oracles of God^b,” as their several opportunities admit². Bede’s grateful and admiring countrymen were duly heedful of this pious admonition. Eagerly they sought instruction in the ways of righteousness from those ample stores provided by him for their use, and their exertions never flagged to render extensively effective the fruits of his biblical researches. Nor did it satisfy the venerable father of English scriptural exposition to pile up facilities, in rich profusion, for the purpose of enabling less gifted teachers to scatter heavenly knowledge through the land: Bede’s holy zeal led him down from his learned eminence, and filled him with anxiety to unlock God’s undoubted will to every ear around. When death, accordingly, bade his labours cease, it found him diligently busied in rendering universally accessible, by means of a vernacular translation, the gospel³ of that disciple “whom Jesus loved^c.”

Bede’s diocesan enjoys also the reputation of having engaged in the task of rendering holy Scripture into his native idiom⁴. Nor as the years rolled on did they fail of offering to the public view numerous individuals, from

^b 1 Pet. iv. 11.

^c St. John xix. 26.

whose well-directed pens flowed both versions and expositions of the sacred book. Ælfric especially, the most able and industrious, probably, of Anglo-Saxon scholars, after Bede, laboured incessantly thus to benefit the land which gave him birth. Besides providing for popular instruction, by numerous homilies, compiled from sources of highest estimation, he sought also to render men generally familiar with God's own communications to them, by clothing in a vernacular dress several of the sacred writers.

There is yet another name among those ancient worthies of our native country, who thus endeavoured to improve the talents entrusted to their management by the heavenly Master of us all. Alfred, the wisest and most venerated of Anglo-Saxon kings, did not overlook the sacred volume amidst the press of labours, literary, civil, and military, by which he earned an eternity of fame within his moderate span of human life. A version of the Psalms, partially completed^d, attested, among many more conspicuous proofs, how well this admirable sovereign had remembered that account which all men must one

^d Willielm. Malmesb. de Gest. Regum Angl. inter Rer. Angl. Scriptores post Bedam. p. 24.

day give before the dread tribunal of almighty God.

That these exertions flowed from a full conviction of the propriety, nay even of the necessity, of giving general currency to God's holy word, admits not of a doubt. Alcuin⁵, the pupil, probably, of Bede, certainly of Egbert, preeminent among ancient metropolitans of our northern province, was a distinguished commentator upon Scripture. And thus he recommends the study of that inestimable book: "Would we ever be with God? let us pray and read: in the former of these exercises, we converse with our heavenly Father; in the latter, he converses with us. Would we sufficiently feed our souls? the Bible must supply us with the means; it is no less needful for such an end, than earthly viands are for corporeal nutriment. Would we travel securely through the world? holy writ must shed its light along our course⁶." Such is the language of one, whom England valued far above most of her then existing children: of one too, who, having attained the summit of domestic celebrity, was invited over to the court of Charlemain. To that illustrious monarch Alcuin became, hereafter, the principal adviser in all affairs connected with learning and religion: nor did he fail

of establishing upon the continent a reputation fully equal to that which he had gained in his native isle. Did, then, this highly distinguished Englishman consider Scripture as an insufficient guide to heavenly knowledge? Had he looked upon the revelation of God's holy word as only partially committed to the sacred record, would he not have naturally somewhat qualified his glowing commendations of biblical inquiries? If articles of faith are extant without the volume of inspiration, surely those who seek for spiritual information only from its pages, may thus feed their souls with insufficient nutriment, and grievously mistake the real direction of their course. Alcuin appears, however, to have been wholly free from any such apprehensions; in ignorance of Scripture he sees famine and blindness weighing down the soul: in a close acquaintance with the holy book he discerns a due supply of that celestial nutriment which ripens men for a mansion in their almighty Father's tranquil, spotless, glorious, everlasting home.

Of Alcuin's pupils, Raban Maur, who closed in the see of Mentz a life of learned industry and religious zeal, was undoubtedly the most illustrious. Our island, it is far most likely, cannot claim the honour of his birth; but

his master, and his extensive, unsparing use of Bede, obviously connect this famous metropolitan with the theology of ancient England. What, then, was his opinion respecting the sufficiency of holy writ? Adopting, though without acknowledgment, St. Austin's very words^c, he pronounces, that all the principles of morality and faith are plainly contained in the sacred record. For understanding obscurer passages in Scripture, still identifying himself with the celebrated bishop of Hippo, he recommends a careful and scholarly collation of them with other texts, alike in import, but clearer in expression⁷.

Thus unequivocally does one who learnt theology under English tuition assert the sufficiency of Scripture. This principle, therefore, we can hardly doubt, was then acknowledged unreservedly by our national divines; nor does it appear ever to have lost its ground among the Anglo-Saxons. Their pulpits, accordingly, at a period long posterior to Alcuin and Raban Maur, earnestly recommended supplications to our heavenly Father for a knowledge of his recorded will, as for that "daily bread" which spiritual existence urgently requires⁸.

^c De Doctrina Christiana, lib. II. cap. 9. S. Aurel. Aug. Opp. ed. Bened. tom. III. col. 24.

In unison with such a prayer, Ælfric asks, "How can he fare well who turns his heart away from holy Scripture^f?" It never seems to have entered the mind of that eminent instructor, to whom our distant ancestry owed so much, that the Bible, as being an imperfect record, might prove a treacherous guide. On the contrary, he pronounces, that teachers who take their doctrine from any other source are no better than "blind leaders of the blind⁹."

Such opinions, evidently, were not merely entertained by individuals. The national Church solemnly embodied them in her formularies. Her prelates, on election and consecration, were publicly thus interrogated: "Will you apply the whole powers of your mind to the study of holy Scripture?" Again: "Will you instruct the people committed to your charge, in the things which you shall have drawn from the sacred volume¹⁰?" Of unwritten tradition, as an authority for articles of faith, no intimation appears in these early queries; the framers of them seem to have acted under a full persuasion, that a bishop could hardly mislead his flock, so long as he diligently and honestly sought for heavenly knowledge at the holy fountain of recorded revelation. Had the Bible, however, been

^f Ælfric *Of the New Testament*. L'Isle's Trans. p. 40.

esteemed an incomplete repository of God's known communications to mankind, episcopal inquiries into the principles of religious belief could not safely have been confined within such narrow limits. In these interrogatories accordingly, as appearing in formularies of a later date, we find the following interpolation : " Will you receive and keep the traditions of the orthodox fathers, and the decrees of the holy and apostolic see¹¹ ?"

By the term " traditions" here is intended, probably, nothing more than certain passages, alleged from the remains of ecclesiastical antiquity, both spurious and genuine, as authorities for papal claims to supremacy. The comparatively late insertion of such a clause affords, however, a strong presumption, that earlier times had recognised no religious guide independent of the sacred volume. Of such a presumption confirmations are, indeed, abundantly supplied in the homiletic stores of our ancient Church. It is represented in one of these venerable documents, that our Lord's immediate followers, when removed from earth, acted upon subsequent generations by the books which some among them left behind¹². Of vital truths passed over unrecorded by the sacred penmen no suspicion seems to have been entertained in the Anglo-

Saxon Church. Hence her children were diligently trained in habits of reverencing and consulting the written word: habits, from which they could hardly fail of regarding it as a sufficient rule of faith. Among evidences of such religious training may be mentioned a fanciful picture of the unseen world presented by a Saxon homily. A ransomed soul, summoned to its final occupation of the body from which death had severed it, introduces the following words into its gratulatory salutation: "When we were together in the world, thou paidest earnest heed to holy writ¹³."

It appears, then, that the insufficiency of Scripture was no tradition of our ancient Church. Nor did she hold the canonical authority of those books which are ordinarily called apocryphal. Her views, indeed, of critical tradition were guided by St. Jerome¹⁴, and by her implicit deference for the first four general councils. In the last of these, however, that of Calcedon¹⁵, the Laodicean catalogue¹⁶ of inspired writings was unequivocally, though tacitly, confirmed. The canon, thus authenticated, was naturally recognised by Gregory the Great, honourably commemorated in Anglo-Saxon times, as the apostle of England: for he received, professedly, the de-

crees of the first four general councils with a reverence hardly less than that which he paid to the four Gospels¹⁷. This famous pontiff accompanies, accordingly, a citation from Maccabees with a remark, that it is found in a series of writings not canonical¹⁸. He denies expressly, therefore, canonicity to one of those two very books for which advocates of a belief in purgatory would earnestly contend, as affording to that doctrine an important scriptural proof. With Gregory, Bede agrees; taking occasion from a passage in the Apocalypse to mention twenty-four, as the number of books in the former volume of inspiration¹⁹. Again; he speaks of the ancient canon as completed under Ezra; and, more plainly still, he ranks the books of Maccabees with the histories of Josephus and Julius Africanus²⁰. Alcuin also rejects, as insufficient, a doctrinal proof alleged in controversy, because drawn from the son of Sirach, a writer, he says, who lived after the voice of prophecy had been reduced to silence, and whose work is pronounced apocryphal by Jerome and Isidore²¹. Ælfric likewise adds his testimony to the same side of this important question²². The apocryphal books were indeed freely used for popular instruction in Anglo-Saxon times. Nor was approbation even limited to such of

them as are appended to the Old Testament ; but care was taken to prevent men from considering them as integral portions of God's recorded word.

Of hermeneutical tradition, the current stream was followed reverentially by the Anglo-Saxon Church. Her solemn decisions and the works of her divines exhibit none of that vainglorious impatience, which, spurning all antecedent authority, rashly claims an unlimited right of private judgment. On the contrary, she received, perhaps rather too implicitly, such expositions of the written word as had gained established credit. Her conciliar decisions, accordingly, are in strict unison with those already received among Christians, and her divines used contentedly such materials as they found provided for them by the Fathers, especially by St. Austin.

From such sources naturally flowed a profound veneration for the fundamental articles of our holy faith. Earlier ages had proved fatally prolific in reprehensible speculations upon the ever-blessed Trinity. Hence our Anglo-Saxon fathers found established a precision in the treatment of this important mystery, which other questions in theology did not attain until after the lapse of several centuries. Of this precision their Church availed

herself; adopting the three creeds, as her standard of orthodoxy²³. Nor did her preachers lose any opportunity of inculcating those principles of interpreting Scripture in certain leading articles, which these formularies prescribe. The people were thus carefully taught to view revelations of the Deity, passing man's understanding, among indispensable exercises of a Christian's faith^g.

Scholastical definitions and enumerations of the Sacraments did not arise until after Norman arms had overthrown the Saxon polity. Bede, however, speaks of Baptism and the holy Eucharist as the foundations of the Church²⁴, and subsequent authorities extol these two ordinances far more highly than any other observances of the Christian religion²⁵. Raban Maur, however, declares expressly that the Sacraments are Baptism and Chrism, the Body and Blood²⁶. It is plain that he considered Chrism as properly a member of the baptismal ceremony. Hence he does, in effect, assert two sacraments only; and his views coincided, it is hardly doubtful, with those of that English theological school which formed him as a divine. Upon sacerdotal intention, our Ante-Norman progenitors had probably not acquired any dispo-

^g See the Homily on the Catholic Faith.

sition to speculate; such a principle being chiefly demanded by a belief in transubstantiation²⁸. But their theological monuments inculcate repeatedly, that no unhappy taint of ministerial unworthiness defeats the operation of God's holy sacraments^h. Of these, that whereby men are "grafted into the body of Christ's Church" was denied to adults, incapable of repeating the Creed and the Lord's Prayer. But generally, Baptism was administered in infancy, and especial care was taken to identify with regeneration the spiritual grace thereby received.²⁹ In the Saturdays next before the festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide, a space was allotted for the general administration of this holy sacrament. If a bishop were present, as he was not uncommonly, the confirmation with chrism, of all who had been immersed in the sacred laver, immediately followed. If no episcopal presence graced the solemnity, all the newly-baptized were admitted to that rite, but without Chrism, by sacerdotal hands.

To these interesting celebrations, the prevailing course of hermeneutical tradition lent a feature yet more peculiar. That declaration of the blessed Jesus, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood,

^h See note 25.

ye have no life in youⁱ,” was understood as conclusive of an universal necessity for communicating in the holy Supper. Hence, none were allowed to depart after their mystical ablution in the water of regeneration, infants at the breast as many of them were, until they had tasted eucharistic bread and wine³⁰. It was apprehended that spiritual life, now so happily begun, unless fed by the sacred nutriment appointed for its sustenance, might fail of proceeding “unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ^k.”

In the same spirit of literal interpretation, the Church of ancient England likewise received these words of her adorable Founder: “If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye ought also to wash one another’s feet^l.” Among ceremonies, accordingly, commemorating the last Supper, the more pious of our ancestors imitated solemnly that admirable display of condescension, by which the great “Captain of our salvation^m” significantly taught the hopelessness of heavenly grace without a preparation of true humility³⁰.

In another instance, the teachers of our

ⁱ St. John vi. 25.

^k Ephes. iv. 13.

^l St. John xiii. 14.

^m Heb. ii. 10.

distant ancestry enjoined obedience to the very letter of God's recorded word. That well-known text, in which St. James exhorts the sick to call for prayers and unction from the elders of the Churchⁿ, was represented as a sufficient reason for sending such a summons, whenever illness caused alarm³². Expectations were however entertained, that *all* the benefits mentioned by the Apostle were likely to flow from attention to his mandate. Hence our Saxon fathers calculated upon alleviation of corporeal suffering, not less than upon some undefined spiritual advantage. Oft-recurring disappointments of the former expectation could not fail to strike even an age of ignorance and credulity. This unction, accordingly, seems to have experienced some difficulty in maintaining its hold upon popular veneration.

In the first of these three literal interpretations, the Christian world in general has long virtually pronounced, that our progenitors held, without sufficient inquiry, "the traditions which they had been taught." A very large and learned portion of the Catholic Church has thus determined in these later ages respecting all the three. That portion, however, will not deny, that in other points

ⁿ St. James v. 14.

of no mean importance the divines of ancient England evinced a sound discrimination. They firmly maintained the corruption of human nature, and the need of divine grace³³. They inculcated unceasingly³⁴, that “without faith it is impossible to please God^o.” They represented religious principles, unfruitful in good works, as merely serving to blind the understanding, and betray the soul³⁵. To spiritual aids, indispensable for unfeigned obedience, a septiform arrangement was assigned; and under eight divisions were classed the various moral fruits of this invisible direction from above³⁶. Divine predestination and human free-agency were treated with that reverential fear of aiming to be wise “above that which is written^p,” manifestly becoming the creatures of an hour. Neither did presumption rashly strive to fathom, or venture to deny, the depths of infinite prescience; nor were anxious minds left unassured, that the eternal decrees of a merciful God had awarded perdition to those alone, in whom was foreseen an irreclaimable habit of disobedience^q. For dispensing widely those “good and perfect gifts” of heavenly knowledge, which have

^o Heb. xi. 6.

^p 1 Cor. iv. 6.

^q See an excellent homily upon this subject, with a Latin translation, in Whelock’s Bede, p. 64.

“come down from the Father of lights^r,” provision was piously and judiciously made in the strict observance of Sunday. That care, therefore, of hallowing regularly a sabbath to the Lord, which distinguishes modern England so advantageously from some of her continental neighbours, is a portion of her inheritance from Anglo-Saxon times. Numerous enactments of that distant age protected from secular profanation the consecrated seventh of human life.

Other traditions of the Anglo-Saxon Church naturally partook of that ascetic character which had long prevailed among the followers of Jesus. High commendations, accordingly, were lavished upon a life of celibacy. Nor did the brightest ornaments of their profession fail of representing ecclesiastics as universally bound, in propriety, though not in law, nor, perhaps, altogether in conscience, to embrace it faithfully³⁷. Fasting too, at stated times, but especially in Lent, was earnestly recommended³⁸, and canonical penances enforced an observance of it upon the unreflecting and irreligious. But, then, it was impressed carefully upon the popular mind, that no abstinence from meats, however rigorous, would render men acceptable in the sight of

^r St. James i. 17.

a holy God, unless accompanied by an abandonment of iniquity³⁹. The wealthy were also recommended to relieve the wants of others in seasons of self-denial, by bestowing upon them that provision which their own tables would have demanded, if supplied in the usual way.

As might be expected from an age of rudeness and prevailing illiteracy, our ancient divines admitted into their discourses fanciful speculations, drawn from apocryphal gospels, and other questionable authorities. Thus it was represented, that the primeval pair, with others of those who preceded the Christian era, were consigned after death to a gloomy and uncomfortable place of detention. Thither from Calvary did the disembodied spirit of Jesus flee; when the tedious durance of our first parents, and of many among their children, found a termination⁴⁰. Our Lord's mysterious temptation was understood as an intended parallel, in all but its event, to that of Adam⁴⁰. Antichrist was expected to prove an incarnation of Satan; under whose usurped authority the Church would suffer a rigorous persecution before the final consummation⁴¹. As a counterpoise to this infernal power, Enoch and Elijah, it was thought, would reappear upon the earth; but would fall vic-

tims to the violence and malice of their enemy.

In the department of tradition, known as ecclesiastical, our early progenitors followed obediently the direction of their age. Hence obtained among them a ceremonial somewhat cumbrous; the deceitful nurse of that tendency to superstition, which besets the feebler intellects in every station. Their usages, however, with respect to the constitution of Christ's visible Church, are unimpeachable. Anglo-Saxon authorities afford no encouragement to that unapostolical form of religious polity, which arose from certain unhappy necessities of the sixteenth century, and which has proved the fruitful parent both of heresy and fanaticism. On the contrary, a presiding bishop was established in every kingdom of the Octarchy, as soon as a Christian ministry found a settlement within its borders. Rash intrusions into the clerical office were thus rendered hopeless; those who served in God's holy temple, received their commission through the regular channel of apostolical succession; and religious unity was preserved by confiding to a single pastor in every district the chief direction of ecclesiastical affairs.

Thus primitively constituted, thus excellently taught, in various traditions of conspi-

cuous importance, was the Church of ancient England. Nor in these more essential articles did she cease to “hold fast the profession of her faith without wavering^s.” Her foundation rested, therefore, upon the principle of acknowledging in Scripture a sufficient revelation of God’s holy will. Her approbation of certain Jewish writings, uncontained in the Hebrew canon, extended merely to an admission of their utility for moral edification. Her divines admitted only two sacraments, in the received acceptation of that term; and from the initiatory one of these, they led men to expect the grace of regeneration. The main principles of our ancient Church, unfolded in this Discourse, are thus evidently worthy of apostolic origin. Hence it may fairly be presumed, that the whole inquiry will have a tendency to win respect from an English protestant for the religion of his distant ancestry.

^s Heb. x. 23.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SERMON II.

¹ “**SCRIPTURA** divina, qua Christiana eruditio continetur.” S. Aurel. Augustin. De Civit. Dei. lib. IX. cap. 5. Opp. Ed. Benedict. Tom. VII. col. 222.

² “*Egredimini, inquit, in montem, et afferte frondes olivæ, et frondes ligni pulcherrimi, &c.* Et nos egrediamur de mansione quadam generalium cogitationum in altitudinem sanctarum Scripturarum crebrius meditandam: et afferamus nobis inde, quasi frondes olivæ, fructus misericordiæ, quibus pauperes recreando, nos simul ab æstu tentantium vitiorum obumbremus: et frondes ligni pulcherrimi, quod Judæi cedrum vocant, fructus, nimirum, charitatis, quæ inter omnes pulcherrima et eximia est virtutes: per quem et Dominus noster lignum crucis pro nostra salute conscendit.” Bed. Ven. in Ezram Allegoric. Expos. lib. III. cap. 27. Opp. Bas. 1563. tom. IV. col. 569.

³ “Veruntamen animi ejus” (Bedæ sc.) “pura sanctitas, et sancta puritas magis proximo tempore obitus excellunt. Siquidem continuis septem hebdomadibus stomachi indignatione cibos nauseans, ægroque et angusto suspirio halitum producens, adeo ut eum incommoditas lecto prosterneret, non tamen litteralium studiorum rejecit operam. Totis

enim diebus, præter debitum psalmodiæ pensum, assiduis ad discipulos lectionibus, ruminandisque et absolvendis quæstionum difficultatibus, gravedinem valetudinis decipere, suspensa interim cogitatione nitebatur. Evangelium quoque Johannis, quod difficultate sui mentes legentium exercet, his diebus lingua interpretatus Anglica, condescendit minus imbutis Latina." De Gest. Angl. Continuator Anonym. Inter Rer. Britannic. Scriptores Vetustiores. Heidelberg. 1587. p. 285.

⁴ "710. Eadfridus, Lindisfarnensis Episcopus, a sermone Latino in Anglo-Saxonicam linguam vertit plures Bibliorum libros; ut habet Gul. Butler, in suo libello contra translationem vulgarem." Jac. Usserii Armach. Archiepisc. Historia Dogmatica. Lond. 1690. p. 105.

⁵ Sum ƷeþunƷen laƷeop Ʒær on enƷla þeode albinur Ʒehaten. Ʒ hæƷde micle Ʒeþincðu. Se læƷede manega þær enƷlirƷan mennirƷeƷ on bocheum cƷærte ƷƷa ƷƷa he Ʒel cuðe. Ʒ ƷeƷde Ʒiððan on Ʒæ to þa ƷnoteƷan cýnniƷe kapulur Ʒehaten. Ʒe hæƷde mýcelne cƷærƷt Ʒor Ʒode Ʒ Ʒor Ʒopulde. Ʒ he Ʒirlice leopode. To þam com albinur Ʒe æþela laƷeop Ʒ on hir anpealde ælþeodig Ʒunode on ƷancƷe martineƷ mýnƷteƷe. Ʒ þær manega ƷelæƷde mid þam heoponlican Ʒirðome þe him Ʒod ƷorƷeaf. (MSS. Junii 23. Bibl. Bodl.) *There was a certain famous doctor in the English nation, called Albinus, and he had great estimation. He taught many of the English race in bookish craft, as he well knew how; and went afterwards over sea to the wise king, called Karulus: who had great talents for religion, and for the world; and he lived wisely. To him comes Albinus, the noble doctor,*

and in his dominions he lived a stranger, in St. Martin's minster: and there he taught many with the heavenly wisdom which God gave to him. Alcuin was called indifferently by that name, Albin, Alchwin, and the like. He was invited to France, by Charlemain, about the year 793, and he died there in the year 804. Præf. ad Albini, sive Alchwini Opera. Lut. Par. 1617.

⁶ Ðeo næding haligra Ʒepputa iſ oncnapenyſ þæne ecan eadignýſſe. On þam halƷan Ʒepputum þe man hine ƿýlfne mæƷ ƿceapian Ʒelice 7 on hƿilcum ƿceapepe hƿýlc he býð. Eal ſƿa þeo næding haligra Ʒepputa heo Ʒeclænſað þa ſaple þæſ næden-ðan. heo ƷebƿinƷað on hiſ mode þone eƷe helle ƿiteſ. 7 heo hiſ heortan anæpeð to þam uplican Ʒeſean. Ðe þe ƿile ſýmble mið Ʒode beon he ƿceal hine oft Ʒebiddan. 7 he ƿceal oft halige Ʒepputu næðan. ƿorðan þonne þe uſ Ʒebiddað þe ƿpecað to Ʒode. 7 þonne þe halige bec næðað þonne ƿpecað Ʒod to uſ. Ðeo næding haligra boca beoð tƿiſealde Ʒeſea heo bƿinƷeð þam nædenða. æneſt þ̅ heo læpeð hiſ moder andƷit þ̅ hiſ ƿceapſna bið. 7 eac þ̅ heo hine ƿſam þiſeſ miððan Ʒearðeſ iðelneſſum to Ʒodeſ luſan Ʒelæðeð. Ðeo næding haligra boca iſ ſƿiðe aƿſæſtlic peopc. 7 heo ſƿiðe helpað to ſaple ƷeclænſunƷa. Gelice þ̅ þe licama bið Ʒeſeð mið ƿlæſchicum metum ſƿa eac ſe hiſra man þ̅ bið þeo ſapl bið Ʒeſeð mið þam Ʒodcundum Ʒeſſæcum. ſƿa ſe ſealm-ſcop cƿæð. ſƿettſa ſýndon mineſ muðeſ cheke þiſne ſƿſæcu þonne huniƷ oððe beo-bread. Ðe bið ſƿiðe Ʒeſæliz þe þa halƷan Ʒepputu næðað Ʒiſ he þa þorð Ʒependað on peopc. Ðoðlice ealla þa halƷan Ʒepputu ſýndon aƿſetene ƿor upe hæle þ̅ þe maƷon þuſh þa onƷý-

tan roðfærtnyrre. Ofter æt rpuræð þe blinda þonne ðe lociende. rpa eac þe þa nat goder beboda ofter he rýngað rpa rpa hit nat þonne do þe ðe hit pat. Gelice 7 je blinda butan latteope rpa eac þe man butan lapeope rpiðe uneaðe mazon gan on þone rihtan peð goder beboda. (MSS. Bibl. Publ. Cant. Ii. 1—33. p. 420. This MS., as the letters and orthography prove, was written considerably after the Conquest. It was presented, as appears from the first page, by Abp. Parker, in 1574.) *The reading of holy Scriptures is the knowledge of everlasting blessedness. In the holy Scriptures man may contemplate himself, as in some mirror, what sort of person he is. Just so the reading of holy Scriptures; it cleanseth the reader's soul, it bringeth into his mind the fear of hell-punishment, and it raiseth his heart to the joy above. The man who wishes ever to be with God; he should often pray to him, and he should often read the holy Scriptures. For when we pray, we speak to God, and when we read the holy books, then God speaks to us. It is a twofold joy which the reading of the holy books bringeth to the readers; first, that it so instructs their understandings as to render them sharper, and also that it leads them from this world's vanities to the love of God. The reading of the holy books is a very pious work, and it greatly helpeth to the cleansing of the soul. As the body is fed with fleshly meats, so also the higher man, that is, the soul, is fed with divine conferences: as the Psalmist says, Sweeter to the cheek of my mouth are thy speeches, than honey, or the honey-comb. He is very happy who readeth the holy Scriptures, if he turneth the words into works.*

All the holy Scriptures are written for our health, that we may through them understand the truth. Oftener the blind man stumbleth than he who sees ; so also he who knows not God's commands, oftener he sinneth, from his ignorance, than does he who knows them. And like the blind man without a guide, so also man without a teacher must have great difficulty in going the right way according to God's commands. This extract has been already printed, with a Latin translation, by Whelock, in his Notes upon Bede's Ecclesiastical History, (Cant. 1643. p. 173,) from the same MS. that has been used upon the present occasion. But the learned editor has not acquainted his readers with their obligation to Alcuin for this recommendation of Biblical studies. The piece, in fact, is one member of a short series upon the leading particulars of the Christian character, (and of which farther use will be made in this undertaking,) addressed to count Guido. It may be found in Latin, probably its original language, in the printed edition of Alcuin's works. (p. 1220.) There are also two MS. copies of this address of Alcuin to Guido in the Public Library at Cambridge ; one of them, (Kk. 6—19.) referred to the 14th century ; the other, (Mm. 6—12.) referred to the following age. Both these vary from each other, and from the printed copy, and all the three vary from the Saxon. But none of these variations are of any importance.

7 “ In his enim quæ aperte in Scripturis posita sunt, inveniuntur illa omnia quæ continent fidem, mores vivendi, spem scilicet atque charitatem. Cum vero, facta quadam familiaritate cum ipsa lingua divinarum Scripturarum, in ea quæ obscura sunt ape-

rienda et discutienda, pergendum est, ut ad obscuriores locutiones illustrandas, de manifestioribus sumantur exempla, et quædam certarum sententiarum testimonia, dubitationem certis auferant: in qua re memoria valet plurimum, quæ, si defuerit, non potest his præceptis dari." (Rabanus Maurus, Mogunt. Archiep. de Clericorum Institutione, lib. II. c. 7. edit. Colon. 1533. p. 160.) Raban Maur was, most probably, a native of Fulda. Some writers, however, have asserted that he was an Englishman. See, prefixed to his works, (Col. Agr. 1627. p. 8.)

Testimonia de Hrabano.

⁸ "*Panem nostrum cotidianum da nobis hodie.* Sicut enim panis est esca corporis unde corpus in hoc seculo vivet, ita est panis spiritalis unde anima sine fine vivere debet. *Hoc est divina Scriptura,* quæ docet et ammonet qualiter ad Dominum et ad regnum æternum pervenire valeamus, et qualiter possumus relinquere viam quæ ducit ad infernum et regnum Diaboli, ubi erunt peccatores sine fine torquendi. Illum, ergo, panem, fratres karissimi, cotidie sine cessatione cum magno desiderio rogare debemus, ut illum Dominus omnipotens pro sua pietate largiri dignetur; ut valeamus intelligere quæ sit voluntas Dei, et facere quæ illi placita sunt, ut maneamus in illo et ipse in nobis." Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, c. 1. fol. 87.

⁹ "All teachers that take not their doctrine and examples out of these holy books are like those of whom Christ himself thus said, *Cæcus si cæco ducatum præstet, ambo in foveam cadent: If the blind man be leader of the blind, then shall they both fall into some blind pit;* but such teachers as take their examples and doctrine from hence, whe-

ther it be out of the Old Testament or the New, are such as Christ himself spake of in these words ; *Omnis scriba doctus in regno cœlorum similis est homini patrifamilias qui profert de thesauro suo nova et vetera ; Every learned scribe in the Church of God is like the master of a family, who brings forth ever out of his own treasure things new and old.* Ælfric, of the New Testament, L'Isle's Transl. p. 38.

¹⁰ “ INCIPIT ORDO VEL EXAMINATIO IN ORDINATIONE EPISCOPI. Interrogamus te dilectissime frater in caritate sincera : Si omnem prudentiam tuam quantum tua capax est natura divine scripture sensibus accommodare volueris. *Responsio.* Ita ex toto corde volo in omnibus obedire et consentire. *Interrogatio.* Vis ea que ex divinis scripturis intelligis plebem cui ordinandus es et verbis docere et exemplis. *Responsio.* Volo.” (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. III. f. 91.) Respecting any belief in traditions this examination is silent.

¹¹ “ Vis traditiones orthodoxorum patrum ac decretales, sancte et apostolice sedis constitutiones veneratione suscipere, docere, atque servare ? *Responsio.* Volo.” (Bibl. C. C. C. C. MSS. Parker. LXXIX.) The MS. from which this extract is made is a magnificent Pontifical, compiled at some time subsequent to the commencement of the twelfth century, as appears from a reference therein to the works of Hugh de St. Victor, who died in the year 1140. (Cave, Hist. Lit. Lond. 1688. p. 655.)

¹² Tƿelf aƿostolaf ƿær þe ƿunodon mið him. ⁊ tƿa ⁊ hund ƿeofentig he gecear him to byðelum þa ferdon tƿam ⁊ tƿam æt fōran him ge hƿyðer. Ðar fēoƿer ⁊ hund eahtig þe folgodon þam hæ-

lende rýnd þa grund-peallar on goder zelapunge 7 þa fýrmeſtan býðelar 7 hi une bec ſetton ſpa ſpa hi geleafmodon æt heora lafeope criſte 7 heora lap becom to þam ýtmeſtum landum. (Serm. de Memoria Sanctorum, p. 228. MSS. Bibl. Publ. Cant. II. 1—33.) *There were twelve apostles who lived with him, and he chose seventy-two for his heralds; who went, two and two, here and there, before him. These eighty-four, who followed Jesus, are the ground-walls in God's Church, and the foremost heralds; and they composed our books even as they learned them from their teacher, Crist, and their teaching is come to the uttermost lands.*

¹³ Goder þam halgum zeppitum þu zeopne gehýnder 7 þape lafe hlýrter þe hig gode folce bodedon 7 rædon. (MSS. Bibl. Publ. Cant. II. 1—33. p. 413.) *Thou earnestly heardest God's holy Scriptures, and didst listen to the teaching of those who preached and said them to good folk.* This congratulatory language of the disembodied soul to its former corporeal associate is ranged with addresses couched in the very words of our Saviour, “Naked, and thou clothedst them; sick, and thou visitedst them,” &c. Hence it is plain, that the Anglo-Saxons looked upon Scriptural acquisitions as among those employments of a Christian's life which are most acceptable to God.

¹⁴ “The worthy and wise author Jerome, *who translated our Bible* out of the Greeke and Hebrew bookes into Latine.” Ælfric, of the N. T. L'Isle's Transl. p. 32.

¹⁵ “Qui a sanctis Patribus in unaquaque synodo huc usque expositi sunt, observari canones æquum

censuimus." (Conc. Chalched. Can. i. Labb. et Coss. IV. 756.) The Calcedonian Fathers, who met in 451, are considered here to authorize that ecclesiastical code, then generally used, and composed of the decrees of various antecedent councils. To this code, reference is made in the acts of the council of Calcedon, (Labb. et Coss. IV. 692, *et alibi*.) In it was included the Laodicean canon, already cited; but the decree of some council of Carthage, considered among Romanists to authorize the Trentine canon of Scripture, was not inserted in the code, until the year 525. Romish writers generally refer this Carthaginian council to the year 397, but bishop Cosin, after noticing some anachronisms in the way of this date, assigns the council to the year 419. The canon is the 47th, among those enacted by this particular council, and is the 24th in the general body of African canons. It is, however, insufficient for the purposes of Romish divines; and it might seem, such as it is, to have been treated with no great attention in the Church generally when the council of Calcedon sat; otherwise we may reasonably suppose that its innovation respecting the greater part of the Apocrypha, would have found its way, ere then, into the received code of ecclesiastical canons. Bishop Cosin's Can. 111. Du Pin's Eccl. Hist. II. 279. Labb. et Coss. II. 1061, 1177.

¹⁶ "Can. LIX.

Quod non oportet privatos et vulgares aliquos psalmos dici in ecclesia, nec libros non canonicos, sed solos canonicos Veteris et Novi Testamenti.

LX.

Hæc sunt quæ legi oportet ex Veteri Testamento :
 I. Genesis. II. Exodus, id est Exitus ex Ægypto.
 III. Leviticum. IV. Numeri. V. Deuteronomium.
 VI. Jesus Naue. VII. Judices. Ruth. VIII. Hester.
 IX. Regnorum I. et II. X. Regnorum III. et IV.
 XI. Paralipomenon I. et II. XII. Esdræ I. et II.
 XIII. Liber Psalmorum CL. XIV. Proverbia Salomonis.
 XV. Ecclesiastes. XVI. Cantica Canticorum.
 XVII. Job. XVIII. Duodecim Prophetæ.
 XIX. Esaias. XX. Jeremias et Baruch, Lamentationes et Epistolæ.
 XXI. Ezechiel. XXII. Daniel.
 Novi autem Testamenti hæc : Evangelia quatuor
 (κατὰ Ματθαῖον, *Lat. desider.*) secundum Marcum,
 secundum Lucam, secundum Joannem. Actus Apostolorum.
 Epistolæ catholicæ septem, videlicet Iacobi una, Petri duæ, Iohannis tres, Iudæ una. Epistolæ Pauli quatuordecim : ad Romanos una, ad Corinthios duæ, ad Galatas una, ad Ephesios una, ad Philippenses una, ad Colossenses una, ad Thessalonicenses duæ, ad Hebræos una, ad Timotheum duæ, ad Titum una, ad Philemonem una." (Can. S. et B. PP. qui Laodiceæ Phrygiæ convenerant. Labb. et Coss. SS. Conc. Lut. Par. 1671. I. 5008.

Respecting *art. XX.* in the foregoing extract, it is to be observed, that Baruch's name is joined to that of Jeremiah, because he was that holy person's amanuensis, and so much engaged in the arrangement of his prophecies, that he might be called, in some sort, the author of the book. Even Bellarmine admits that the apocryphal book of Baruch was most probably not intended here by the Laodicean Fathers ; for he says, " De libro Baruch controversia fuit, et est, tum quia non invenitur in

Hebræis codicibus, tum etiam quia *nec concilia antiqua* neque pontifices, neque Patres quos supra citavimus, qui catalogum librorum sacrorum texunt, hujus Prophetæ disertis verbis meminerunt." (Controv. I. 11.) This language would hardly have been used had the cardinal considered the council of Laodicea to have pronounced the book of Baruch canonical. The "Epistle" mentioned in connection with the name of Jeremiah, is that which is found in his 29th chapter.

The Apocalypse is omitted in this enumeration, because, probably, the council's attention being called to Scripture from its use in public worship, it was thought unnecessary to name a book, esteemed unsuitable, on account of its mysterious character, for such a purpose.

The date of the council of Laodicea has been involved in some degree of obscurity. Bishop Cosin assigns the year 364 to it. Du Pin declines the naming of any particular year, but says, "'Tis very probable that it was celebrated between 360 and 370." All the ancients, indeed, place it after the council of Antioch, holden in 341. Many modern writers, however, of the papal party, following Baronius, would rather believe that the council of Laodicea preceded that of Nice, holden in 325. This flows from a desire to maintain that authority which was assigned at Trent to the apocryphal books. St. Jerome mentions it as a thing "read," that the Nicene Fathers reckoned the book of Judith to be canonical. Now it is justly thought unlikely, that the council of Laodicea would venture to contravene the very high authority of that assembled at Nice. Hence, it is argued, the latter named must

have preceded the other. But to say nothing of historical objections to this hypothesis, which are almost insurmountable, if not absolutely so, Jerome's testimony really makes very little for establishing the Nicene approbation of Judith. He does not say, that the circumstance related is to be found in any authentic act of the Nicene Fathers. Notoriously there is not the smallest trace of any such act. He merely states that something of the kind is to be "read" in some unnamed book: a vague assertion which is, naturally considered, even by a large proportion of Romish scholars, insufficient to warrant the conclusion of Baronius upon this question. (Bishop Cosin's Scholastical Hist. of the Canon. Lond. 1672. pp. 41, 55. Du Pin's New Hist. of Eccl. Writers, Lond. 1696. Engl. Transl. II. 268. R. P. Joan. Cabassut. Notitia Ecclesiast. Lugdun. 1680. p. 151.)

¹⁷ "Et sic quatuor synodos sanctæ universalis Ecclesiæ sicut quatuor libros sancti Evangelii recipimus." Greg. Papæ Epist. ad Sabinum Subdiacolum. (Labbe. et Coss. V. 1105.) Id. ad Theodolindam Reginam. (Ibid. 1157.)

¹⁸ "De qua re" (elatione sc.) non inordinate agimus, si *ex libris, licet non canonicis*, sed tamen ad ædificationem Ecclesiæ editis, testimonium proferamus. Eleazar, namque in prælio elephantem feriens stravit, sed sub ipso quem extinxit, occubuit." (1 Macc. vi. 43, 4, 5, 6.) S. Gregorii Expos. Moral. in Job. lib. 19. cap. 13. Opp. Rom. 1589. tom. II. p. 748.

¹⁹ "Alæ senæ quatuor animalium, quæ sunt viginti quatuor totidem Veteris Testamenti libros insimulant, quibus Evangelistarum, et fuleitur auctori-

tas, et veritas comprobatur.” (Bed. Ven. in Apoc. cap. 4. Opp. tom. V. col. 1073.) For the mode of making up the number twenty-four, in the books of the O. T. see bishop Cosin on the Canon, p. 77.

²⁰ “ 3489. Artaxerxes, qui et Longimanus, id est, μακρόχειρ, annis XL.

Hujus anno VII. prima die mensis primi, Esdras sacerdos et scriba legis Dei, ascendit de Babylone cum Epistolis Regis, et in prima mensis quinti venit in Hierusalem cum viris MDCC. Et inter alia strenue gesta, castigavit filios transmigrationis ab uxoribus alienigenis. Ejusdem anno vicesimo Neemias, pincerna, de Susis castro adveniens, murum Hierusalem LII. diebus restituit, et ducatum genti XII. annis præbuit. *Huc usque divina Scriptura temporum seriem continet.* Quæ autem post hæc apud Judæos sunt digesta, de libro Machabæorum, et Josephi, atque Africani scriptis exhibentur, qui deinceps universam historiam usque ad Romana tempora prosecuti sunt.” Bed. Ven. de Sex Ætati-bus Mundi. Opp. tom. II. p. 181.

²¹ “ In libro Jesu filii Sirac, hæc præfata sententia legitur, quem librum B. Hieronymus, atque Isidorus inter apocryphas, id est, dubias Scripturas, deputatum esse absque dubitatione testantur. Qui etiam liber non tempore prophetarum, sed sacerdotum, sub Simone, Pontifice, magno regnante Ptolomæo Euergete, conscriptus est : nec tantum prophetias, quantum morales disciplinas, et laudes sapientiæ proferre videtur.” (Alcuin. adv. Elipant. Tolet. Episc. Opp. col. 941.)

²² Ælfric mentions, in his tract upon the Old Testament, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numerus, Deuteronomium, Josue, Liber Judicum, Ruth, four

books of Kings, (*i. e.* two of Samuel, and two of Kings,) *Verba Dierum*, (דברי הימים *i. e.* Chronicles; which is thus entitled in the Hebrew Bibles; and which Ælfrie reckons, according to ancient Jewish usage, as a single book,) Psalms, three books of Solomon, namely, Parabole, Ecclesiastes, Cantica Canticorum; “two more books placed with Solomon’s workes, as if he made them: which for likeness of stile and profitable use have gone for his: but Jesus, the sonne of Syrach, composed them: one is called *Liber Sapientiæ*, the Booke of Wisdome; and the other *Ecclesiasticus*; very large bookes, and read in the Church, of long custome, for much good instruction.” (p. 17.) Isaias, Hieremias, Ezechiel, Daniel, Osee, Johel, Amos, Abdias, Jonas, Micheas, Naum, Abbaeuc, Sophonias, Aggeus, Zacharias, Malachias, Esdras, Job, Tobias, Hester, Judith, two *Machabeorum*. Ælfrie’s tract upon the New Testament, enumerates the sacred books thus, Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Johannes; two Epistles of Petrus; one, of Jacob the Righteous; (James the Just;) three, of Johannes the Evangelist; one of Judas the Apostle; altogether seven books of this rank: of Paulus the Apostle, fifteen Epistles; namely, to the Romans, one; to the Corinthians, two; to the Galathians, one; to the Ephesians, one; to the Philipensians, one; to the Colosensians, one; to the Thesalonicensians, twain; also to the Ebreans, one; to his own disciple, Timotheus, twain; and Titus, one; to Philemon, one; to the Laodicensians, one: *Actus Apostolorum*, in English, Deeds of the Apostles; Apocalipsis, that is, Revelation; the last book in the Bible.

Now this statement is clearly not formed accord-

ing to the canon of the African churches, mentioned in note 15 ; for that expressly ascribes five books to Solomon, (*Salomonis libri quinque*,) this ascribes to him only three books, and moreover asserts that the two other books, going by his name, are not his, nor entitled to be read in the Church, except from long custom, and their general goodness of matter. The African churches also sanction two books of Esdras ; meaning, there is no doubt, by the first book, the books of Ezra and Nehemiah conjointly, which stood as one book in the ancient Hebrew canon. By the second book of Esdras is meant the first apocryphal book of that name. There can be no question that Ælfric acknowledged as canonical only the first of these, namely, the conjoined books of Ezra and Nehemiah ; for he expressly ascribes but *one* book to Esdras, and in such a case we cannot hesitate as to the identification of that one. *Eḡðnar je ƿrutepe appaṭ ane boc. Esdras the writer* (or scribe) *wrote one book.* Again, the African Church ranges Tobit, Judith, and the two books of Maccabees, without any remark, in the canon : naming also Job between Chronicles and Psalms. Ælfric places Tobit after Job, treating it as a fit accompaniment of that book, and saying, that it “is added unto this number *because it hath a like holy meaning therein.*” (p. 22.) That it is placed there as being an integral part of God’s revealed word, is not said. The words, indeed, would seem to imply, that it was not so considered. Nor is Judith treated as if esteemed canonical. Ælfric says, “The widow Judith, who overcame Holophernes, the Sirian general, hath her booke also among these, concerning her

own victory, and Englished according to my skill, *for your example, that ye men may also defend your country by force of arms against the invasion of a foreign host.*" (The Danes were then in the habit of invading England.) Of Maccabees, the writer says, "Among these books *the Church hath accustomed* to place two other tending to the glory of God, and entituled Machabeorum, *for the great valour of that family*, who prevailed then so much in fight against the heathen forces, encroaching much upon them, and seeking to destroy and root them from the land which God had given them, and so to empaire the glory of God himself." Thus all the apocryphal books mentioned are said to have been included in the Bible (or perhaps merely used by Ælfrie in his scriptural labours for popular instruction) upon some especial grounds: a tolerably fair presumption, that he considered them no parts of the sacred canon. Among them he places the book of Esther, introducing it, as in the other cases, by a sort of apology. This may either arise from his having used the apocryphal portions of Esther, or from his reluctance to place a mere abridgment of his own under any appearance of equality with canonical Scripture. His words are, "Queene Hester, who delivered her nation, hath one booke also in this number, *because it containes the praise of God: the which I briefly, after my manner*, translated into English." Upon another point in which Ælfrie differs from the Africans, namely, his mention of St. Paul's Epistle to the Laodiceans, his tract allows no room for saying any thing farther than that he names this piece after the Apostle's Epistles to individuals; a singu-

lar arrangement, if he were assured of its canonicity. All uncertainty, however, as to this eminent ecclesiastic's estimate of canonical Scripture is removed by the fact, that St. Jerome's version was the received Bible of England in his days. This would be sufficient, even without the weight of individual authorities, to prove that the Anglo-Saxon Church agreed neither with ancient Africa, nor with modern Rome, as to the canon of Scripture.

²³ The Apostles' Creed was known as the *less Creed*, the Nicene Creed, from its use, as at present, in the Communion-service, the *Mass Creed*, the Athanasian Creed is styled in a Cottonian MS. (Vespasian. A. 1.) FIDES CATHOLICA. Of all these creeds there are vernacular translations.

²⁴ “Sicut enim ex latere Adam dormientis nata est Eva, ita ex latere Christi dormientis in cruce exierunt sacramenta, sanguis, scilicet, et aqua, ex quibus constituta est Ecclesia.” Bed. Ven. in Ps. 41. Opp. tom. VIII. col. 651.

²⁵ Tpa ðing rýndon þurh goder mihte ꝛpa miccle 7 ꝛpa mære þ æfre ænig man ne mæg ðær on ænig þing apýrðan ne gepanian. fulluht 7 hurelhalgunz. Nýr je mærr-e-ppeorð þe mærrian mot 7 to mærrianne ah on worulde ꝛpa myrðlic. ne ꝛpa ꝛpacod on hýr dæðan zýf he dæra þenunza aðene deð ꝛpa ꝛpa ðær togebyrdeð. þeah he rýlf unriht dreoze on hýr life ne býð jeo þenunz þær na þe pýrre. Ne eft nýr ænig ꝛpa mære ne ꝛpa halzer life þ aðor ðæra þenunza gezodian oððon zemýcchian mæze. Do ꝛpa hpýlc ꝛpa hit do goder rýlfer miht býð on þære deade þurh haliz gerýne. Ac je eapma rýnpulla man hearmað þeah him rýlfum egerlice rýðe je þe gezpurc-læcð to mærrianne

oððon huſl to dīcſanne 7 pāt hine ſýlfne on ſýn-
num tofulne 7 ſpýðe forþſphtene 7 nele ær hit
geandettan 7 betan ær he to þam geðſpſt-læce þ̅
he mæſſian anſumne. (Ex Hom. Lupi, Episcopi.
Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 99.) *Two things are,*
through God's might, so great and important, that
never can any man therein injure or diminish any
thing: Baptism and Eucharist-hallowing. The
mass-priest who can mass, and has the means of
massing, is not so unsteady in the world, nor so
base in his deeds, if he do either of these ministra-
tions properly, unrighteous as may be his own life,
that his ministration should be any the worse. Nor
again, is any man so important, or of so holy a life,
that he can add goodness or importance to either
of these ministrations. Whatever may be done,
God's own might is in these deeds through a holy
mystery. But the wretched sinful man harmeth
himself, notwithstanding, very terribly, who pre-
sumes to mass or receive the Eucharist, and knows
himself abounding and altogether undone in sins,
and will not confess and amend ere he presumes to
begin massing. Whelock, in his annotations upon
Bede, (p. 462.) has printed the first sentence in this
extract, with a Latin translation.

²⁶ “Sunt autem sacramenta, Baptismum et
Chrisma, Corpus et Sanguis: quæ ob id sacra-
menta dicuntur, quia sub tegumento corporalium
rerum, virtus divina secretius salutem eorundem
sacramentorum operatur, unde et a secretis virtuti-
bus, vel a sacris, sacramenta dicuntur.” Hraban.
Maur. de Institutione Clericorum, lib. I. cap. 24.
Opp. Col. Agr. 1626. tom. VI. p. 8.

²⁷ Cases have been supposed in which priests jo-

cularly, or from accident, might say, *Hoc est corpus meum*, over a mass of bread in a baker's shop, or elsewhere. In such cases, it is determined, no transubstantiation would take place, because the parties did not intend to do what the Church does in prescribing the use of these words.

²⁸ Tupa pe beoð on þȳrum liƿe acennede. ȳeo ƿorƿme acennedner iſ ƿlærclie of ƿæðer 7 of meðer. ȳeo oðer acennedner iſ ȳarclie þonne pe beoð ȳeðcennede on þam halȳan ƿulluhte. on þam uȳ beoð ealle ȳȳnna ƿorȳȳene þuȳh þær halȳan ȳarter ȳȳfe. ðeo þȳuðde acennedner bið on þam ȳe-mænelicum æȳȳte. on þa beoð uȳe lichaman ȳe-ðcennede to unbȳorƿmendlicum lichaman. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 22.) *Twice we are, in this life, born: the former birth is fleshly, of a father and a mother; the other is spiritual, when we are regenerated in the holy Baptism; in which all our sins are forgiven us through the Holy Ghost's grace. The third birth is in the general resurrection, in which our bodies will be regenerated into incorruptible bodies.* (St. Matth. xix. 28.)

Ðuȳh clæne mæðen cȳȳt ƿearð ȳeborƿen. 7 þuȳh clæne ƿulluht pe ȳȳndon ealle cȳȳtene ȳeborƿene. þ̅ pe ȳceolon eac on ealȳe clænnȳȳe healðan ȳȳȳ pe ænȳȳe miltȳe beȳȳtan ȳceolon æt ȳode. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 23. f. 79.) *Through a clean maiden Crist was born, and through clean Baptism we are all born Cristens; that we should also in all cleanness hold, if we would get any mercy with God.*

ðeo ȳarclie acennednȳȳ þ̅ man ȳode beo acenned on þam halȳan ƿulluhte þuȳh þone halȳan ȳart iſ uȳ unȳepunelic. ƿorðan þe pe ȳereon ne maȳon

hƿæt ƿær bið ƿerrenned on þam ƿerfulodan
 menn. Ðu ƿerýxt hine bedýppan on ƿeiran ƿæ-
 tere. ⁊ eft up ateon mid þam ýlean hƿe þe he
 hæfde æroƿ ær þan þe he dufe. ac ƿeo halize mo-
 doƿ þe is ƿoder ƿelaðunƿ ƿat þ þ cild bið ƿýnful
 bedýped inn to þam ƿante. ⁊ bið up abroden fram
 ƿýnnum aðroƿen þƿurh þ halize fulluht. Ðurh
 adames ƿorƿægednesse. ðe ƿoder beboð tobræc.
 beoð þa cild ƿýnfulle. ac þurh ƿoder ƿýlfe ƿýfe
 heora ƿýnna beoð aðýlegode þ hi ƿoder menn
 beoð. ⁊ hi of flæsclicum ƿerurðað ƿarlice. ⁊
 ƿoder bearn ƿelætene ƿra ƿra up bec ƿecgað.
 (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. II. 4—6. p. 557.) *The*
spiritual birth, that man be born to God in holy
Baptism, through the Holy Ghost, is not familiar
to our observation; for that we cannot see what is
there accomplished in baptised persons. Thou
seest him bedipped in the sheer (pure) water, and
again drawn up with the same hue that he had be-
fore, ere that he dived; but the holy mother, that
is, God's Church, knows that that child is bedipped
sinful into the font, and is taken up washed from
sins through that holy Baptism. Through Adam's
transgression, who God's commandment broke,
those children are sinful; but through the grace
of God himself their sins are blotted out, and they
become God's men, (servants,) and they of fleshly
are made spiritual, and are called God's children,
even as the (sacred) books tell us.

The last of these three extracts is printed by
 Whelock, (*in Bed.* 63.) with an additional clause,
 at the beginning, stating that the ordinary processes
 of birth and growth are familiar to human observa-
 tion. Of this clause, however, the chief practical

use appears to be that it serves to explain the word *ungepunele*, literally *unwonted*, which occurs in the extract given above, and which has been rendered, “not familiar to our observation.” Whelock renders the word by *invisibilis*.

²⁹ The following rubrics relating to these curious facts in the ecclesiastical antiquities of England, are extracted from an imperfect Pontifical in the British Museum, beautifully written, and, for the most part, anterior to the Conquest. (MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, C. 1.) After the directions for baptizing the parties, brought for that purpose, (who were thrice totally immersed,) are found the following directions, f. 72.

“Pontifex vero egreditur a fonte in sacrarium habens ibi sedem compositam, vel in ecclesia, ubi voluerit, et sedet in ea; ut, cum vestiti fuerint infantes, confirmet eos; et deportentur ipsi infantes ante eum, et det singulis stolam candidam et crismale, et x siliquas, dicens, *Accipe vestem candidam, sanctam, et immaculatam, quam proferas ante tribunal Christi in vita eterna. Pax tibi. Amen.* Et sic vestiuntur. Induti, vero, ordinantur per ordinem sicut scripti sunt in circuitu. Et cum omnes baptizati fuerint infantes, statuuntur per ordinem, et juniores, quidem, in brachiis dextris tenentur; majores, vero, pedem ponant super pedem dextrum patrini sui, sive matrine sue. Et nemo carnalem filium aut filiam de baptismo suscipiat, vel ad confirmationem habeat: ut sit discretio inter carnalem et spiritualem generationem; et qui non est confirmatus nullum ad confirmandum habeat. Et datis, orat pontifex super eos, confirmans eos. Si, vero, episcopus adest, statim confir-

mari eos oportet chrisinate, et postea communicare: et si episcopus deest, communicentur a presbytero corpore et sanguine Christi, dicente ita: *Corpus Domini nostri Jesu Christi custodiat te in vitam eternam.*"

Ex eod. Pontif. f. 75. "Ilud, autem, de parvulis providendum est, ne postquam baptizati fuerint, ullum cibum accipiant, neque lactentur, sine summa necessitate, antequam communicent sacramentum corporis Christi; et postea per totam hebdomadam pasche, omnibus diebus, ad missam veniant, et parentes eorum, pro ipsis offerant, et communicent omnes."

This last clause accounts for the origin of Easter offerings; which, although disregarded from their insignificance in country-parishes, are of some importance where the population is large, and, as the case commonly stands, the clergyman's provision is scanty. Likewise, it hence appears, that such offerings were anciently claimable, not only from parishioners who have attained the age of puberty, or thereabouts, but from all parishioners who had passed the first Easter, or Whitsuntide, after birth; all such persons being baptised, and immediately becoming communicants, as a matter of course.

³⁰ From the MS., used in the last note, (f. 78.) the following extract has been made to illustrate the ritual *Pediluvium*, and the use of oil for the sick. The passages occur in a sermon to be preached on the day before Good-Friday, or in *Cæna Domini*, as the day was called, and they mention other particulars relating to the celebration of that day.

"Hodie, namque in forma servi, quam propter nos accepit, pedes discipulorum lavit, et nobis hu-

militatis exemplum dedit. Hodie finitum est vetus testamentum, et inchoatum est novum. Hodie multa ad nostram salutem facta sunt, que vobis enumerare perlongum est, quia ad alia transire necesse est. Hodie in sancta ecclesia reservatur corpus Domini usque in crastinum. Lavantur pedes servorum, in exemplum Domini et discipulorum; nudantur altaria usque in sabbato sancto. Et pœnitentes veniunt ad absolutionem. Hodie tribus modis consecratur oleum. Oleum pro infirmis, et pro populo; oleum principalis crismatis, et oleum ad ungendos catycuminos et neophytos. Potest, enim, Deus sine oleo sanare infirmos, sanctificare suos, et demones effugare. Sed propter fragiles et animales aguntur hæc invisibilia, ut spiritalia et invisibilia facilius capiantur. Oleum, vero, quando offertur pontifici simplex liquor est, et speciem habet corporalem, sed per benedictionem sacerdotum transfertur in sacramentum. Consecratio, vero, hujus crismatis dicitur principalis, quia ad ejus unctionem principalis tribuitur principalis spiritus, idem septiformis paraclitus.”

³¹ In a beautiful but imperfect Pontifical, attributed to the 13th century, in the public library at Cambridge, (Ll. 2—10.) is found, among the rubrics for the consecration of chrism, *in Cæna Domini*, the following view of unguent for the sick. “Prima, vero, ad oleum infirmorum *perfecta medicina ad effugandas quoque egritudines*, et ad remissionem peccatorum, ut per Apostolum instrui-mur: *Infirmitur quis ex vobis unguatur oleo salutari, in nomine Domini, et allevabit eum Dominus, et si in peccatis sit, dimittentur ei.*

In unison with this view is the following form of

blessing such oil, prescribed in the Constitutions attributed to the Apostles : “ Domine sabaoth, Deus virtutum, creator aquarum, et largitor olei, miserator et amator hominum, qui dedisti aquam ad bibendum et abluendum, oleum ad exhilarandum faciem in exultationem lætitiæ ; ipse nunc sanctifica, per Christum, hanc aquam et oleum ex nomine ejus qui obtulit, vel quæ obtulit, et *tribue ei vim sanandi et depellendi morbum*, fugandi dæmones, expellendi insidias, per Christum, spem nostram : cum quo tibi gloria, honor, cultus, et Sancto Spiritui, in sæcula. Amen.” (Const. quæ tribuuntur Apost. lib. VIII. cap. 29. Labb. et Coss. I. 493.)

It is not, perhaps, improbable, that in addition to disappointed hopes of bodily ease, flowing from the use of consecrated unguent, a low opinion of it (which Ælfric tells us was the case) might obtain in England, from the prevalence of religious opinions there, underived from Rome. The Anglo-Saxons, it should be remembered, were chiefly converted by native missionaries, decried, indeed, by Augustine’s Italian party as schismatics, but who seem to have used a less superstitious ritual than that imported from abroad. It is obvious, that these venerated national heralds of evangelical truth, to whom the Saxon conquerors were so much indebted, would leave upon the public mind many traces of their simpler principles, long after the annihilation of their political importance.

³² See the Homily on the Catholic Faith.—Spa eac reo rapul gif god hi folcet for rýmmum ne deð heo nan þing to gode. Ne mæg nan man nan þing gedon buton godes fultume. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 22.). *So also the soul, if God abandon it*

for sins, doth no good thing. No man can do any thing without God's aid. See large extracts upon this subject, and that of free-will, in Whelock's Bede, p. 64.

³³ Geleafa iſ ealpa mægna fýrmerc· buton þam ne mæg nan mann gode lician· 7 re rihiſiſa leoſað be hiſ geleafan. (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. li. 4—6. p. 20.) *Faith is the foremost of all virtues : without it no man can please God ; and the righteous liveth by his faith.*

Se geleafa iſ opðſruma ealpa godðra mihta· foſðan þe re geleafa uſ zelæt to heoſonum. (Ex eod. cod. p. 393.) *Faith is the origin of all godly powers ; for faith lets us into heaven.*

Ac þeoſ oncnapennýſſ þæſe godcundnýſſe 7 þæſe goðfæſtnýſſe iſ riðdom to leornienne þurh þone rihtan geleafan· foſðan ðe nan man ne mæg gode gelician butan rihtum geleafan. Soðlice þe bið geſæliz þe þe on riht-gelýfende pel liſað· 7 pel lupiende þone fulſremmedan geleafan gehealdað. Witodlice þe geleafa bið unnýt butan þam godum peoſcum· ſpa eac þa godan peoſc butan þam rihtum geleafan nanum men naht ne helpað· be þam iacob þe apoſtol cſæð· hſæt helpeð eoſ bſoðſu mine ꝥ þeah hſa ſæcge ꝥ he geleafan hæbbe þonne he þa godan peoſc naſað· ac peneð he mæg hine þe geleafa gehealdan. Soðlice þe geleafa butan þam godan peoſcum he býð deade· gelic 7 ðe lichama býð deað butan þam gaſte. (Alcuin. ad Guid. Com. Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. li. 1—33.) *But the knowledge of the Divinity and the truth is a wisdom to be learnt through a right faith ; for that no man can please God without a*

right faith. Truly he is happy, who, in right-believing, liveth well, and, well-living, holdeth the perfect faith. Faith, indeed, is vain without good works; so also good works, without a right faith, nought help any men; according to that which the Apostle Jacob (James) saith: What helpeth you, my brethren, that any one may say that he has faith, when he hath not good works; but weeneth he that faith can save him? Truly faith without good works, it is dead, like also the body is dead without the spirit.

A Latin version of this extract, pretty closely answering to the Saxon, is printed in Alcuin's Works, p. 1218.

³⁴ Ælc tpeop blepð ær þan þe hit pærtnar bepe ·
 7 ælc corn bið ærert gærr. Ðra ælc goder mann
 sceal hine sylfne to godnýrre apendan · 7 wírdom
 lufian · 7 forlætan idelnýrre. Ðe sceal hlýrtan
 wírdomes æt wírum mannum · forþam swa he oftor
 goder lare gehýrð swa he gehendop bið þam wírdome.
 Ne sceal nan man forhogian ꝥ he hýre
 goder lare · forþan þe hit bið swýðe pleolic þam
 men · ꝥ he his scíppendes beboda gehýnan nelle
 swýlce he goder hære forreo. (Bibl. Bodleiana
 MSS. Junii. 23. Hom. 6. De Doctrina Apostolica.)
*Every tree bloweth ere that it fruits bear, and
 every corn is erst grass. So every man (servant)
 of God should turn himself to goodness, and love
 wisdom, and forego vanity. He should hear wis-
 dom from wise men; for that by how much the
 oftener he heareth God's learning, by so much the
 nearer he is to wisdom. No man should despise
 the hearing of God's learning; for that it is very*

dangerous to men to be unwilling to hear their Creator's commands, as if God's pleasure were overlooked.

Næpon hi on lihhte þurh þ̅ þ̅ hi goder beboða gehýndon· ac hi purdon on lihhte þa hi goder beboða to peopc apendon þurh þa cumliðnyrre. Forðam þe hit is awriten þ̅ þa ne beoð rihtwice ge-tealde þe mid peopcum his beboða ne gefýllað. (Alius Sermo de Die Pasce. Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. II. 4—6. p. 330. Gg. 3—28. p. 364.) *They were not in the light through this, that they heard God's commands: but these were in the light who turned God's commands into works through hospitality. Because it is written, That they are not accounted righteous who with works fulfil not his commands.*

See also the Homily on the Catholic Faith.

³⁵ Iſaias ſe witega awrat on his witegunge be þam halgan gaste· ⁊ be his reorwfealdan gifu. Ða reorwfealdan gýfa rýnd þur gehatene· Sapientia on leden· þ̅ is wírdom on englice· Intellectus on leden· ⁊ andgít on englice· Conſilium on leden· þ̅ is wæd on englice· Fortitudo on leden ⁊ moder ſtrengeð on englice· Scientia on leden ⁊ god-mgehyð on englice· Timor dñi on leden· goder ege on englice· Pietas on leden ⁊ awfærtnyr on englice. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, C. 6. f. 28.). *Isaias the prophet wrote, in his prophecy, of the Holy Ghost, and of his sevenfold graces. The sevenfold graces are thus called: Sapientia in Latin; that is, Wisdom in English: Intellectus in Latin, and Understanding in English: Consilium in Latin, that is, Counsel in English: Fortitudo in Latin, and Strength of Mind in English: Scientia in Latin, and Good Knowledge*

in English: Timor Domini in Latin; Fear of God in English: Pictas in Latin, and Piety in English.

In the same Homily (f. 29.) is found the following catalogue of opposites to these graces. Ða ýfelan ungyfa þær aþlæran ðeopley jýndon þur gehatene on leðen jppæce. Insipientia þ ɣ dýrɣ oððe ðpærnyr. Stultitia þ ɣ jctuntnyr. Improvidentia þ ɣ pæcelearnyr buþan þopejceapunge. Ignavia þ ɣ abroðennyr oððe nahtnyr. Ignorantia þ ɣ nýtenyr. Impietas þ ɣ aplearnyr. Temeritas þ ɣ dýrehic dýjrtɣnyr. *The evil ungraces of the wicked Devil are thus called in Latin speech: Insipientia, that is, Folly, or Dulness; Stultitia, that is, Stupidity; Improvidentia, that is, Recklessness without Consideration; Ignavia, that is, Cowardice, or Naughtiness; Ignorantia, that is, Ignorance; Impietas, that is, Impiety; Temeritas, that is, Foolish Daring.*

The text of Isaiah, to which the former of these extracts refers, is to be found (xi. 2.) The prophet, however, mentions only six spiritual gifts; namely, “the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of counsel and might, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of the Lord.” The compilers of our Liturgy have thus treated this matter, in the episcopal blessing used at Confirmation. “Daily increase in them thy manifold gifts of grace; the spirit of wisdom and understanding; the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength; the spirit of knowledge and true godliness: and fill them, O Lord, with the spirit of thy holy fear.” In the Pontifical it stands thus: “Emitte in eos septiformem Spiritum tuum Sanctum Paraclitum de celis: Spiritum

sapientie et intellectus : Spiritum consilii et fortitudinis : Spiritum scientie et pietatis. Adimple eos Spiritu timoris tui." Pontif. Rom. 1497. f. 1.

Among the Bodleian MSS. (Serm. de Christianitate. Junius. 99. f. 40.) are the following catalogues of the eight principal vices, and of their antagonistic virtues, with Latin names over them, written in a very ancient hand. *ƷiƷrunȝ*, *Cupiditas* ; *ƷiƷepner*, *Gula* ; *Ʒalner*, *Fornicatio* ; *Weamodnȝr*, *Ira* ; *UnroƷnȝr*, *Tristitia* ; *Ʒrolcenȝr*, *Accidia* ; *Ʒȝlpȝeopnȝr*, *Vana Gloria* ; *OƷepmodiȝnȝr*, *Superbia*. These sins are designated *Ʒa Ʒeoplican eahta leahtȝar*, *The eight devilish vices*, and it is said of them that all wickednesses arise from them. Their opposites are these : *Rum-heopnȝr*, (Roomy-heartness,) *Liberalitas* ; *SȝƷepnȝr*, *Sobrietas* ; *Ʒlænner*, *Castitas* ; *Ʒodhpæpner*, *Patientia* ; *Ʒlæðner*, *Spiritalis Letitia* ; *Ʒnpæðnȝr*, *Instantia boni operis* ; *Sȝbȝeopner*, *Caritas Dei et Proximi* ; *Ʒaðmodner*, *Humilitas*.

Alcuin (Opp. p. 1239.) thus enumerates the eight principal sins : *Superbia, Gula, Fornicatio, Avaritia, Ira, Acedia, Tristitia, Cenodoxia*, but he makes only four principal virtues ; *viz. Prudentia, Justitia, Fortitudo, Temperantia*, p. 1243.

In a subsequent age it became the fashion to draught all objects of scholastic inquiry into septenaries, and the mortal sins, as then called, naturally followed the stream. (See the author's History of the Reformation, III. 299.) In compliance with this fashion, some ancient reader, probably a monk imbued with school-theology, has written in the margin of a Bodleian MS. (Junius 23.) over against the usual Saxon enumeration, *vii mortalia peccata*.

This note appears the more absurd, because not only eight sins are mentioned in the text, but also they are introduced as þam eahta heafod leahtnum, *the eight heavy vices*.

³⁶ Seo zelapung is halig on lichaman 7 on gærte. ac heo nis na eall mæden swa þeah on lichaman. ac heo is swa þeah mæden soðlice on gærte. 7 heo is eall halig for þam halgan geleafan. 7 heo is swiðor halig on þam halgum mannum þe on mægðhaðe punað on lichaman 7 on gærte. (Bibl. Bodl. Hom. 11. De Sancta Virginitate, MSS. Junii 24. f. 159.) *The Church is holy in body and in spirit; but it is not, however, all maiden in body; but it is however truly maiden in spirit; and it is all holy for the holy faith; and it is the rather holy in the holy men who continue in maidenhead in body and in spirit.*

In a handsome volume, formerly belonging to the library of Bury-abbey but now in the British Museum, (MSS. Cotton. Julius, E. 7.) and containing free translations from the Latin, by Ælfric, of pieces, chiefly legendary, adapted to various festivals, is found the following view of clerical celibacy. (f. 56.) After stating that the Jewish high priest was allowed to marry, for the purpose of preserving his office in one particular family, the Homily proceeds: Ðit mihte þa wel swa. forðan þe hi ne marfoðon næfre. ac hi offoðon nýtenu on heora lacum gode. Ne hwer næs gehalgod ær þam þe se hælend com. 7 þa nisan gecyðnyrre mid cristen dome apearde. 7 gecear þa clænan to his clænum þeodome. na to nýtena ofspringe ac to his azenum lichaman. 7 bircceopas ne beoð nu be gebýrdum gecopene. ac seo halige zelapung lufað

þa clænan· 7 cniht pile habban þa þe him clænlice þeniað· æt þam liflicum lacum his lichaman 7 blodes. *It might be well so; for they massed never, but they offered beasts in their oblations to God. Nor was the Eucharist hallowed ere that Jesus came, and set up the new covenant with Christendom, and chose the clean for his clean service, not for the offering of beasts, but for (that) of his own body: and bishops are not now chosen according to families; but the holy Church loveth the clean, and Christ will have those who cleanly serve him at the lively oblations of his body and blood.*

In another part of this volume (Serm. de Memoria Sanctorum, f. 78.) clerical marriages are treated as proofs of folly. Among the blessed spirits Ælfric places *piſe mæſſe-ppeoſtaſ þe punodon on clænnýſſe· wise mass-priests who lived in cleanness*; yet, even in cases where celibacy had been vowed, we find that it only served as a cloak for licentiousness. A piece entitled, in a hand apparently not very ancient, *Augustini Sermo*, (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. II. 1—33.) giving a view of lost souls, contains this passage; (p. 412.) Ðaſ beoð eac geþiſlice þa unrihtpiſe mæſſe-ppeoſtaſ mið þam unrihtpiſum biſceopum· 7 þa unriht-puncend munecaſ mið þam unriht-hæmendum nunnum. *There are also, indeed, the unrighteous mass-priests with the unrighteous bishops; and the wrong-doing monks with the incontinent nuns.*

³⁷ On þæpe ealdan gecýðneſſa ða ða je hepetoga moyſes fæſte xl ðaga 7 xl nihta to ſone to þi þ he moſte goder æ underſon. Eft ſýððan je mæpe piſega eliaſ eall ſpa lang fæſten ðurh goder

mihte færte swa swa se oðer gefylde. ⁊ ryððan
 pearð gefepoð lichamlice on heofonlicum cræte
 to þam uplican life. ⁊ cymð eft he ⁊ enoh to-
 gænes antecriste. to þi þ hi ðær deofles learuŋge
 mid godeſ godfærtnesſe ofer-ſtælan. Ðuhten
 eac on þære nīpan gecyðnesſa færte ðurh hīſ god-
 cundan mihte xl daga ⁊ xl nihta fram eallum
 eorðlicum biſleoſan. Ður þær upe længtenlic
 færten aſteald. Ac þe ne maƿon for upe tȳðder-
 nesſe ðyllic færten ðurhteon. Nu iſ alȳfed ðurh
 laſeopa ealdorðom þ þe dægþamlice on ðýrrepe
 længtenlican tide upne lichaman gereorðigan mid
 forhæfednȳſſe ⁊ rȳfermȳſſe ⁊ clænnȳſſe. (Bibl.
 Bodl. MSS. Junii 85.) *In the Old Testament, no
 sooner had the leader, Moses, fasted forty days
 and forty nights, than he received God's Law.
 Afterwards, the great prophet Elias fulfilled quite
 as long a fast as did the other, through God's
 might, and then was carried bodily, in a heavenly
 chariot, to the life above; and he will come again,
 with Enoch against Antecrist, in order that they
 may refute the Devil's falsehood with God's truth.
 The Lord also, in the New Testament, fasted,
 through his divine might, forty days and forty
 nights from all earthly food. Thus was our Lenten
 fast established. But we cannot, from our weak-
 ness, accomplish such a fast. Now it is permitted
 us, by the authority of doctors, that we daily, in
 this Lenten-tide, refresh our bodies, with absti-
 nence, and soberness, and cleanness.*

³⁸ Ne bið nan færten gode gecpeme buton se
 man hīne ſelpne fram leahtrum forhæbbe. (Bibl.
 Bodl. MSS. Junii. 8. Dominic. in Quadrag.) *No
 fast is acceptable to God, unless the man keep him-*

self from vices.—When we fast, then we should give more alms than on other days; for we should distribute to the poor the meat and drink, which we should consume if we did not fast. Capit. Incert. Edit. c. 38. Spelman. Conc. 613.

³⁹ Nigon hund pinctra 7 þrýctiz pinctra adam lýfde on þýrre worulde on Ʒerþince 7 on ýrmðe. 7 rýððan to helle for. 7 þær Ʒrimme ritu þolde riƷ þurend pinctra. 7 tpa hund pinctra 7 eahta 7 tpenctiz pinctra. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Cleopatra, B. 13. Dom. ante Rogat. f. 46.) *Nine hundred winters and thirty winters Adam lived in this world, in labour and in sorrow; and then to hell went, and there grim punishments endured five thousand winters, and two hundred winters, and eight and twenty winters.*

Erýrt on þære hpile to helle Ʒepende 7 þone deopol Ʒepýlde. 7 him of-anam adam 7 euan 7 heopa ofrrping þone ðæl þe hi ær Ʒecpemde 7 Ʒelædde hi to heopa lichaman. 7 apar of deaðe mid þam micclum perode on þam þrýddan dæƷe hiƷ þropunƷe. (Ex eod. Cod. Serm. de Init. Creat. f. 30.) *Crist, in the mean-while, went to hell, and subdued the Devil, and took away from him Adam and Eva, and that portion of their offspring which had hitherto pleased him, and led them to their bodies; and arose from death with the great host on the third day after his passion.*

⁴⁰ UnƷerý com re deopol to erýrte 7 unƷerý he eode aƷeƷ. Forðan þe re hælenð ne Ʒerþýtelode na him hiƷ mihte. ac ofeþðraf hine Ʒepýlðelice mid halƷum Ʒerþitum. ðe ealða deopol Ʒecorctnode ure fæðer adam on þreo riƷum. þ iƷ mid Ʒýfeþnýrre 7 mid iðelum pulðne 7 mid ƷitrunƷe. 7 þa

pearð he oferſprīðeð· forðon þe he geðafode þam
 deofle on eallum þam þrȳm corſtunungum. Ðurh
 gifernnerre he pær oferſprīðeð þa þa he þurh deo-
 fles lape ætt þone forbodenan æppel. Ðurh idel
 puldon he pær oferſprīðeð þa þa he gelyfed þær
 deofles wordum· þa þa he cwæð· Ðra mære ge
 beoð ſpa ſpa englas gif ge of þam treowe eðað· 7
 hi þa gelyfdon hiſ leaſunge· 7 woldon mid idelum
 gilpe beon beteran þonne hi gerceapene pæron·
 þa wurdon hi wirran. Mid giterunge he pær ofer-
 ſprīðeð þa þa ſe deofol cwæð to him· and ge hab-
 bað gerceað ægðer ge goder ge yfeles. Niſ na
 giterung on ſeo anum· ac iſ eac on ge wilnum ge
 micelre geðineðe. Mid þam ylcum þrȳm ðingum
 þe ſe deofol þone fnum-ſceaftan mann oferſprīðeð.
 mid þam ylcum criſt oferſprīðeð hine 7 aſtrehte.
 Ðurh gifernnerre fandode ſe deofol criſte þa þa he
 cwæð· Lpæð to þiſſum ſtanum þ hi beon to laſum
 apende· and ett. Ðurh idel puldon he fandode
 hiſ þa þa he hine tilhte þæt he ſceolde ſceoten
 nȳðer of þær temples ſcȳlfe. Ðurh giterunge he
 fandode hiſ þa þa he mid leaſunge him behet eal-
 ler middan-geardes pelan gif he wolde ſeallan to
 hiſ fotum. Ac ſe deofol pær þa oferſprīðeð þurh
 criſt on þam ylcum gemetum þe he ær adam
 oferſprīðeð· þæt he gewite fram urum heortum
 mid þam unſpære gehæft mid þam þe unſapen
 pær 7 ur gehæft. (Ex Hom. cui titulus *Ductus est
 inc.* Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 22.) *Ignorant came
 the Devil to Criſt, and ignorant he went away.
 Because Jeſus did not manifeſt his might to him,
 but overthrew him patiently with holy Scriptures.
 The old devil tempted our father Adam, in three
 ways; that is, with gluttony, and with vainglory,*

and with covetousness ; and then was he overcome ; for he consented to the Devil in all the three temptations. Through gluttony he was overcome, when he, through the Devil's teaching, ate the forbidden apple. Through vainglory was he overcome, when he believed the Devil's words, when he said, Ye shall be as great as the angels, if ye shall eat of the tree : and they believed his leasing, (lying,) and would with idle vanity be better than they were created : then were they worse. With covetousness he was overcome, when the devil said to him, And ye shall be able to discriminate between good and evil. Covetousness is not in money only ; but it is also in desires, and great estimation. With the same three things with which the devil overcame the first-created man, with the same Crist overcame him and laid him prostrate. Through gluttony the devil tried Crist, when he said, Say to these stones that they be turned into loaves : and eat. Through vainglory he made trial of him, when he enticed him that he should shoot down off the temple's shelf (ledge). Through covetousness he made trial of him, when he, with leasing, promised him all the earth's weal, if he would fall at his feet. But the devil was then overcome through Crist, in the same points which formerly gave him the advantage over Adam ; in order that he should be forced to depart from our hearts by means of the very things which afforded him an entrance into them, and power over them.

⁴¹ Lp̃ur̃c ıf ƿoð ȝob ȝ ƿoð mann . ȝ antecp̃ur̃c bið ƿoðlice ðeopol ȝ mann. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. Serm. de Temp. Antecr.) *Crist is true God and true man ; and Antecrist is truly devil and man.*

It appears by the following extract from the same volume, (f. 45.) that this infernal incarnation had been expected about the time of the millenary year, and that, such year having passed without his appearance, the vices and disorders of the years immediately following it were viewed as indications of his approach.

Post mille annor foluetur satanas. þ̅ is on englisc. Æfter þurend gearum bið satanas unbunden. Ðurend geara 7 eac ma is nu aȝan rýððan crijt pær mid mannum on menniscum hipe. 7 nu rýndon satanases bendas rpyðe toȝlopene. 7 antecristes tīma is wel gehende. Post mille annos solvetur satanas: *that is, in English. After a thousand years is satanas unbound. A thousand years, and even more, are now gone since Crist was with men in manly hue, and now are satanases bands much relaxed, and antecrist's time is well nigh.*

For the reappearance of Enoch and Elijah as the adversaries of Antichrist, see note 37.

HOMILY

FOR

ST. PETER'S DAY.

SERMO

IN

DIE S. PETRI APOST^a.

MATTHEUS se Ʒodrpellepe appaƷ on þæne Ʒod-
rpellican Ʒeretnerre · þur cpeðende. Drihten com
to anre burh-Ʒcipe þe is Ʒehaten cearnea philippi
Ʒ beƷnan his ƷingƷian hu men be him cƷiddedon.
Ði andƷýrðon · Sume men cpeðað þæt þu is iohan-
nes se fulluhtere · Ʒume recƷað þæt þu is heliaƷ ·
Ʒume hierimias · oððe Ʒum oðer ƷiteƷa. Se hæ-
lend þa cpeað · ÐƷæt recce Ʒe þæt ic Ʒý. Petrus
him andƷýrðe · Ðu eaƷt cƷurc þæƷ lifiƷendan Ʒo-
des Ʒunu. Drihten him cpeað to andƷƷape · EaðiƷ
eaƷt þu Ʒimon culƷƷan beaƷn^b · Ʒorðon ƷlæƷc Ʒ
bloð þe ne onƷƷeoh þiƷne ƷeleaƷan ac min Ʒæðer
se þe on heoƷononum is. Ic þe recƷe þæt þu eaƷt
Ʒtænen · Ʒ oƷeƷ þiƷne Ʒtan ic ƷetimbƷe mine cý-
Ʒican · Ʒ helle Ʒatu naht ne maƷon onƷean hi. Ic
betæte þe heoƷonan ƷiceƷ cæƷe · Ʒ ƷƷa hƷæt ƷƷa
þu biƷt oƷeƷ eoƷðan þ̅ bið Ʒebunden on heoƷo-
num · Ʒ ƷƷa hƷæt ƷƷa ðu unbiniƷt oƷeƷ eoƷðan þæt
bið unbunden on heoƷonum. Beda se tƷahtnepe
ur onƷƷýð þa ðeopnerre þiƷne Ʒæðinge · Ʒ cpeað

^a Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 22.

^b “ *Beatus es, Simon Bar Iona, Bar Iona Syriace, Latine dici-
tur, Filius Columbae. Hic simplicitas Petri ostenditur, qui filius
gratiæ spiritualis appellatur.*” Ven. Bed. in loc. Opp. Col. Agr.
1612. tom. V.

SERMON

FOR

THE DAY OF ST. PETER THE APOSTLE.

MATHEUS, the gospeller, wrote in the Gospel-volume, thus saying: *The Lord came to a borough-ship, which is called Cesarea Philippi, and asked his disciples how men spoke of him. They answered: Some men say that thou art Johannes the Baptist; some say that thou art Helias; some, Hierimias; or some other prophet. Jesus then saith, What say ye that I am? Petrus him answered, Thou art Crist, the living God's Son. The Lord saith to him for answer: Blessed art thou, Simon, son of a dove; for flesh and blood revealed not this belief to thee, but my Father, who is in the heavens. I say to thee, that thou art stony, and over this stone I build my Church, and hell's gates may do nought against it. I commit to thee heaven's kingdom's key, and whatsoever thou bindest on earth, that is bounden in the heavens, and whatsoever thou unbindest on earth, that is unbounden in heaven.* Bede, the *Expositor*, reveals to us the deepness of this reading, and saith, that Philippus the tetrarch built the borough Cesarea, and in *Tiberii* Caser's honour, under whom he ruled, he formed Cesarea as the borough's name, and for his own remembrance, to that name added Philippi; thus saying Cesarea Philippi; as if the borough

þ̅ philippur ƿe ƿiðer-juca þa buh ceranea ƿetim-
 brode. ⁊ on ƿýrðmýnte þær carener tiberu. þa
 þe he underrixode. þære býrig naman ƿerceop
 ceranean. ⁊ ƿor hir azenum ƿemýnde to þam na-
 man ƿeýhte philippi. þur cƿæðende ceranea phi-
 lippi. ƿilce ƿeo buh heom ham to ƿurðmýnte
 ƿra ƿenemmed ƿære. Ða þa ƿe hælend to þære
 buh-ƿice ƿenealæhte. þa beƿran he hu ƿoruld-
 men be him cƿýddon. Na ƿƿylce he nýrte manna
 cƿýddunga be him. ac he ƿolde mid ƿoðre andet-
 nerre þær ƿihtan ƿelearan aþƿærcean þone læran
 ƿenan ðƿeliendra manna. Hir aƿorðoli him and-
 ƿurdon. ƿume menn cƿýddað þ̅ þu ƿý iohanner ƿe
 ƿulluhtere. ƿume ƿecgað þæt þu ƿý heliar. ƿume
 hieƿummar. oððe an þæra ƿitegena. Ðrihten þa
 beƿran. Ðƿæt ƿecgað ƿe þæt ic ƿý. Ðƿilce he ƿra
 cƿæde. Nu ƿoruld-men þur ðƿollice me oncƿapað.
 ƿe ðe ƿodar ƿýnd. hu oncƿape ƿe me. Ðe tƿaht-
 nere cƿæð ƿodar. ƿorðan þe ƿe ƿoða ƿod. ƿe þe
 ana iƿ ælmuhtig hæfð ƿeunnen þone ƿýrðmýnt hir
 ƿecopenum. þæt he hu ƿodar ƿecigð. Ðum and-
 ƿýrðe ƿe ƿehýrma petru. Ðu eart cƿirt þær li-
 ƿizendan ƿoder ƿunu. Ðe cƿæð þær liƿizendan ƿo-
 der. ƿor tƿæminze þæra leaƿra ƿoda. þa þe hæ-
 ðena þeoda mid mirtlicum ƿeðƿýlde beƿæhte ƿur-
 ðodon. Ðume hi ƿelýfdon on ðeade entar. ⁊ him
 ƿurðlice anlicnerra aƿærðon. ⁊ cƿædon þ̅ hi ƿodar
 ƿæron. ƿor þære micclan ƿtƿeneðe þe hi hæfdon.
 ƿær þeah heora liƿ ƿriðe manƿullic ⁊ biƿmorƿull.
 Be þam cƿæð ƿe ƿitega. þæra hæðenra ƿoda anlic-
 nerra ƿýnd ƿildene ⁊ ƿýlfƿene. manna hand ƿe-
 ƿeopc. hi habbað ðumibne muð. ⁊ blinde eazan. ⁊
 ðeawe eapan. ⁊ unƿefariende handa. ƿet butan
 ƿeðe. boðig butan liƿe. Ðume hi ƿelýfdon on þa

were named so, for the honour of them both. When Jesus approached the borough-ship, then he asked, how worldly men spoke of him. Not, as if he knew not men's speaking of him; but he would, with a true confession of the right belief, extinguish the false opinion of mistaken men. His *apostoli* him answered: *Some men say, that thou art Johannes the Baptist; some say, that thou art Helias; some, Hierimias, or one of the prophets. The Lord then asked, What say ye that I am?* As if he thus said: Now, worldly men thus mistakenly think of me. Ye, who are gods, how think ye of me? The Expositor says *gods*, for that the true God, who alone is almighty, hath granted this honour to his chosen, that he calleth them gods. Him answered the obedient Petrus; *Thou art Crist, the living God's Son.* He saith *the living God's* for distinction from the false gods whom the heathen nations, with various errors deceived, worshipped. Some of them believed in dead giants, and honourably reared images to them, and said that they were gods, for the great strength that they had: their life, though, was very wicked and disgraceful. Of them says the prophet, *The images of the gods of the heathen are of gold and silver, the work of men's hands; they have a dumb mouth, and blind eyes, and deaf ears, and motionless hands, feet without step, body without life.* Some of them believed in the sun, some in the moon, some in fire, and in many other creatures. They said that these, for their fairness, were gods. Now distinguished Petrus manifestly the true faith; when he said, *Thou art Crist, the living God's Son.* He is the living God who hath life and habitation through himself, without begin-

runnan· rume on þone monan· rume on fýr· 7
 on manega oðre gerceafta. Eƿædon þæt hi for
 heora fægermerre godas ƿæron. Nu toðælde pe-
 trus ƿitolice þone forðan geleafan· þa þa he cƿæð·
 Ðu eart cƿiƿt þæs lifigendan godes runu. Se iƿ
 libbende god þe hæfð lif 7 ƿununge þurh hine
 rýlfne butan anginne· 7 se þe ealle gerceafta
 þurh his azen bearn· þæt iƿ his ƿiƿdom· gerceop·
 7 him eallum lif forgeaf þurh þone halgan gart.
 On þýrum þrým hadum iƿ an godecundnes· 7 an
 gecýnd· 7 an ƿeopc untodæledlic. Drihten cƿæð
 to petre· Eadiz eart þu culƿƿan runu. Nu
 geciðe se hælend petrum culƿƿan bearn· for-
 ðan he ƿæs afýlled mid bileƿitnesse 7 gife þæs
 halgan garter. He cƿæð· Ne onƿreahðe flæsc ne
 blod ƿiƿne geleafan· ac min fæder se þe on heo-
 fonum iƿ. Flæsc 7 blod iƿ gecƿæden his flæschlice
 mægð. Næfde he þæt andgite þurh mæglice lare·
 ac se heofonlica fæder· þurh þone halgan gart·
 hisne geleafan on petres heortan forgeaf. Drihten
 cƿæð to petre· Ðu eart stænen^c. For þære
 stæneð his geleafan· 7 for anƿædnesse his an-
 detnesse he underfenz þone naman· forðan þe he
 geðeodde hine rýlfne mid fæstum mode to cƿiƿte·
 se þe iƿ stan gecƿeden fram þam apostole paule^d.
 And ic timbre mine cýrcan upon þissum stane·
 þe iƿ· ofer me rýlfne· mid þam geleafan þe þu

^c Some reader of this MS., probably belonging to the monastic profession, appears to have been more surprised than pleased by this mode of reducing St. Peter's honorary appellative merely to a compendious description of his personal qualities. He has accordingly written *petrus* over *stænen*, *stony*, in this place.

^d "For they drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that Rock was Christ." 1 Cor. x. 4.

ning, and who all creatures, through his own Son, that is, his Wisdom, created ; and to them all gave life, through the Holy Ghost. In these three Persons is one divinity, and one nature, and one work, indivisibly. The Lord saith to Petre, *Blessed art thou, son of a dove*. Now calleth Jesus Petrum, child of a dove, because he was filled with simplicity, and grace of the Holy Ghost. He saith, *Neither flesh nor blood revealed this belief, but my Father who is in the heavens*. His fleshly nature is called flesh and blood. He had not that understanding through human teaching ; but the heavenly Father, through the Holy Ghost, gave this belief into Petre's heart. The Lord saith to Petre, *Thou art stony*. For the strength of his faith, and the constancy of his confession, he received the name ; because he joined himself with firm mind to Crist, who is called *stone* by the Apostle Paul. And, *I build my Church upon this stone* ; that is, over myself, with the belief which now thou utterest respecting me. All God's congregation is founded over the stone, that is, over Crist ; because he is the ground-wall of all the building of his own Church. All of God's Church are reckoned as one congregation, and that is built with chosen men, not with dead stones ; and all the foundation of these bodily stones is placed over Crist ; for we are through the belief reckoned his limbs, and he our head. Jesus saith, *Hell's gates may do nought against my Church*. Vices and erroneous doctrine are hell's gates, for they lead the sinful, as if through a gate, into hell-punishment. Many there are, but none of them has any power against the holy congregation : which is built upon the fast stone, Crist.

nu be me cýððeſt. Eall goder zelaðung iſ oſer
 þam ſtane gebýtlod. þæt iſ oſer criſte. forþon
 þe he iſ ſe grund-peall eallra þara zetimbunze
 hiſ azenne cipcān. Ealle goder cipcān ſýnd ze-
 tealde to anre zelaþunze. ⁊ ſeo iſ mid copenum
 mannum zetimbrod. na mid deaðum ſtanum. ⁊
 eall ſeo gebýtlung þæra licliceſa ſtana iſ oſer
 criſte zeloꝝod. forþon þe ſe beoð þurh þone ze-
 leaſan hiſ lima zetealde. ⁊ he ure eallra heafoð.
 ðe hælend cƿæð. Ne maꝝon helle gatu naht to-
 zeaner minre eýꝝican. Leahrtiſ ⁊ ðpollic laſi
 ſýnd helle gatu. forþon þe hi lædað þone ſýnful-
 lan. ſƿýlce þurh zeat. into helle ƿite. Maneza
 ſýnd. ac heora nan ne mæz onzean þa halzan ze-
 laþunze. þe iſ zetimbrod uppon þam færtan ſtane
 criſte. Forþon þe ſe zelyfeda þurh criſter zer-
 cýlðneſſa ætƿint þam fnecedneſſum þara deof-
 licra coſtnunga. he cƿæð. Iſ ðe betæte heoſonan
 ƿiceſ cæze. Niſ ſeo cæz ne zýlðen ne ſeolſnen.
 ne of nanum antimbre zermiðed. ac iſ ſe anpeald
 þe him forzeaf. þæt nan man ne cýmð into goder
 ƿice. buton ſe halza petruſ him zeopenize þæt
 mƿær. ſƿa criſt ſýlf him to cƿæð. ſƿa hƿæt ſƿa
 þu biſt on eorðan. þæt bið gebunden on heofo-
 num. And ſƿa hƿæt ſƿa þu unbriſt oſer eorðan.
 þæt bið unbunden on heofonum. þiſne anpeald he
 forzeaf nu petre. ⁊ eac ſýððan ær hiſ uprtize
 eallum hiſ apoſtolum. þa þa he heom onableop.
 þur cƿeðende. Onfoð halizne gart. þæra ſýnna
 þe ze forzeoƿað. beoð zorziſene. ⁊ þam þe ze þa
 forziſeneſſe ofumnon. him bið oftozen forzi-
 geneſ. Nellað þa apoſtoli næne ƿihtƿiſne mid
 heora manſumunze gebindan. ne eac þone man-
 fullan miltſende unbindan. butan he mid foðre

Because the believer, through Crist's protection, escapes from the dangers of devilish temptations, he saith, *I commit to thee heaven's kingdom's key.* The key is not either of gold, or silver, nor of any metal besmithed; but it is the power which he gave to him; that no man cometh into God's kingdom, unless the holy Petrus open to him the entrance: as Crist himself said to him, *Whatsoever thou bindest on earth, that is bounden in the heavens; and whatsoever thou unbindest on earth, that is unbounden in the heavens:* this power he gave now to Petre, and also afterwards before his ascension to all his apostles, when he blew upon them, thus saying, *Receive the Holy Ghost; the sins of them whom ye forgive are forgiven, and to them whom ye the forgiveness deny, from them is withdrawn forgiveness.* The *apostoli* would not bind any righteous man with their excommunication; nor also, from pity, unbind the wicked man, unless he should turn, with true repentance, to the way of life. The same power hath the Almighty settled upon bishops and mass-priests, if they it after the Gospel volume carefully hold. And therefore is the key especially committed to Petre, that all prudent nations may know, that whosoever falls away from the unity of the faith which Petrus then confessed to Crist, that upon him is neither settled forgiveness of sins, nor entrance into the heavenly kingdom.

ðeaðbote ȝecȳrne to liƿeſ ƿeȝe. Ðone ȳlcan an-
 ƿeald hæfð ȝe ælmihtiga ȝetiðoð biſcopum 7
 mæſſe-ƿneortum. ȝiſ hi hiȝ æfter þære ȝoðſpel-
 lican ȝeſetneſſe canfullice healðað. Ac ƿorð iſ
 ȝeo cæȝe ƿetne ȝȳnderlice betæht. þæt ealle þeod-
 riȝe ȝleaþlice to enape þæt ȝƿa hƿæt ȝƿa oðreȝt
 ȝƿam annere þær ȝeleaƿan þe ƿetnuſ þa andette
 criȝte. þæt him ne bið ȝetiðoð naðor ne ȝȳnna
 ƿorȝȝener. ne inƿær þær heoƿonlican ȝiceſ.

Copious extracts from other Saxon homilies, in-
 culcating the same doctrine, often too, in the very
 words of that here offered to the reader's notice,
 may be seen in Whelock's *Bede*; (pp. 236, 7, 8, 9.)
 also in the Preface to Mrs. Elstob's *English-Saxon
 Homily on the Birth-Day of St. Gregory*, (Lond.
 1709. pp. xxxix. xli. xliii.). The former work has
 a Latin translation of these passages; the latter, an
 English one.

SERMON III.

THE SUPREMACY.

2 Thess. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

FEW passages in the gospels have attracted a larger degree of critical attention, than that metaphorical address, in which our blessed Lord acknowledged and requited the manliness of St. Peter's confession. "Candidly and carefully consider," say papal advocates, "the promise of Jesus to the prince of the Apostles. In that memorable discovery of God's intentions may surely be discerned no obscure authority for the Pontiff's claims to jurisdiction over the whole Church of Christ. *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven : and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven ; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall*

be loosed in heaven^a. How palpable are the rashness and prejudice of denying, that these words contain, undoubtedly, a manifest scriptural declaration in favour of the Roman see !” To such representations, as it is well known, various answers have been supplied. Nor shall we, who are assembled here, hesitate to admit, that this passage of holy scripture has been explained satisfactorily, yet without affording any ground whatever for the papal assumption of superiority. Of the manner in which this end has been attained, it is, however, needless to say any thing. The present undertaking merely demands a detail of Anglo-Saxon religious traditions. It is neither concerned with the soundness of these, nor with the true senses of those scriptures with which they are severally connected.

What then, did Bede, the great scriptural guide of ancient England, teach our forefathers, respecting the remarkable promise made by Jesus to his Apostle ? The venerable expositor understands the “ rock,” hereafter to supply a foundation for the Church, as a metaphor in which our gracious master adumbrated his own divine person. It was not St. Peter, therefore, upon whom the holy fabric was to be built. By no means; that eminent

^a St. Matt. xvi. 18, 19.

Apostle's name was introduced, we are told, merely figuratively. As God's ancient Church, while accomplishing its weary pilgrimage through the wilderness, "drank of that spiritual rock that followed it, and that rock was Christ^b;" so God's renovated Church was hereafter from the same heavenly source to derive stability and sustenance.

"The gates of hell," vainly threatening the rising fabric, are expounded, as either heretical pravity or moral disobedience, those fatal inlets of destruction to the soul. In committing to St. Peter the celestial keys, Bede considers Jesus to have endued that illustrious Apostle with a power of discerning who should be worthy of admission within the heavenly kingdom; who, of repulsion from its everlasting gates. Authority to bind and loose, it is then observed, was a privilege eventually bestowed upon all the apostolic band. Nor did it terminate with the earthly labours of that holy company. It is still continued to the ministers of God's gracious Word and Sacraments, and to the universal Church, while militant here below. The venerable expositor however teaches, that this privilege of our heavenly Father's appointed servants

^b 1 Cor. x. 4.

is limited by their own piety and discretion. Should rashness or corruption presume to condemn innocence or absolve iniquity, the sentence, he says, assuredly, will not be ratified on high.

These *traditions* firmly maintained their ground in the Church of ancient England. Professedly from Bede's venerated exposition was derived a Saxon homily for St. Peter's day. This discourse, however, being intended for popular instruction, is naturally more diffuse than the commentary whence its matter principally flows. It is hence incompatible, even beyond its original, with such interpretations of our adorable Saviour's figurative address, as papal advocates fain would recommend. Thus, the honorary appellation earned by Simon's frank and generous avowal appears not in his heavenly Master's gracious promise to him. In its place is found an adjective expressive of its meaning. The homilist writes not, "Thou art Peter;" but, "Thy qualities are those of stone." What attentive eye or ear could fail of collecting thence, that no undefined preference for St. Peter's person elicited our Lord's conspicuous testimony of approbation? Who would fail of understanding, that Simon's plain good sense and unshrinking firmness had won for him the

distinction so gloriously connected with his name?

By the “rock,” or “stone,” (for the latter word is used,) from which was to rise a renovated Church, the blessed Jesus, we are told, intended no other than himself: the “rock of their salvation^c” to all who should imitate St. Peter in faithfully acknowledging him as the Messiah. In promising the heavenly keys, Christ seems to have been considered as conferring upon St. Peter an especial privilege. Of this, however, we are not left at liberty to assign a cause in any arbitrary preference. The Apostle, it is represented, was appointed janitor of heaven, from our blessed Saviour’s providential care of those who should hereafter come to the knowledge of his truth. Men were hence to learn that admission into “the joy of their Lord^d” must depend upon their steadfastness in that faith which Cephas had so promptly and decidedly professed. A similar reason is assigned to the promised power of binding and loosing. Our heavenly Master’s object, in thus rewarding the ready decision of his open-hearted follower, is treated as a solemn admonition to all posterity, that would they share with Simon eternal felicity

^c Ps. lxxxix. 26.

^d St. Matt. xxv. 21.

above, they must emulate below the firmness of his faith.

By binding and loosing, excommunication is understood; and a power of awarding and removing this was granted, we are told, before our Lord's ascension, to all the Apostles. From them it has descended upon those who bear rule successively over the holy Church of God. But then it is added, the Son of man's personal followers were incapable of exercising any privilege improperly. Hence none of *their* sentences could have wanted heavenly confirmation. Subsequent ecclesiastical decisions, it is represented, can claim however no such implicit confidence. Unless made in strict conformity with the divine will, they have no hope of recognition by "the Lord, the righteous judge^e."

Such, then, is the tradition of our ancient Church, respecting the scriptural authority alleged for St. Peter's imputed privileges. Here is no trace of any belief in some undefined, arbitrary preference for Cephas: no mention, in fact, of any especial prerogative conferred upon him, beyond that of acting as janitor of heaven. And why does this distinction attach to his name? Merely because men were thence to understand, that an un-

^e 2 Tim. iv. 8.

bending profession of his faith affords the only prospect of admission within the celestial portals. Thus our Saxon fathers detected in the whole address of Jesus nothing more than a significant admonition to hold his doctrine entire and undefiled.

The Ante-Norman Church of England estimated indeed St. Paul not less highly than St. Peter². Nay more : to the former Apostle was even assigned, in some respects, a striking superiority over his illustrious fellow-labourer in the gospel-vineyard. Thus a homily upon our Lord's parable of the Talents paints these two Apostles going forth to their great accounts followed by the fruits of their individual ministrations, as evidences of the diligence with which they had improved respectively the deposits intrusted to their management. Upon Romish principles St. Peter surely ought to head a train consisting of the whole Church of Christ. He was the rock, we are told, upon which the sacred fabric was erected. He was the centre of religious unity, the source of ecclesiastical authority. Why not paint him, therefore, unconnected with any particular division, but preceding majestically all those happy members of the great human family, whom a lively faith in Jesus had exempted from the penal-

ties of iniquity? The Saxon homilist, however, appears to have viewed St. Peter merely as the Apostle of the circumcision. Behind him, accordingly, in his way to the seat of judgment, are placed only those Jews who had come, through his means, to an effectual knowledge of the truth³. In unison with such a picture were Saxon explanations of St. Peter's ship. What Romanist would not here discern a mystical representation of the entire Christian world? Our Ante-Norman fathers, however, understood not thus the figure. In their estimation, St. Peter's ship meant no more than Israel's Christian Church⁴.

Behind St. Paul, on the other hand, the homilist upon the Talents places "almost all the world." Ancient England, therefore, looked rather for an apostolic head to *that* illustrious pillar of our holy faith, than to Simon Peter. Our distant ancestors, as being members of that *Gentile* branch, which rapidly comprised by far the greater portion of our blessed Lord's disciples, considered themselves as destined to follow the great *Apostle* of the Gentiles, in the awful day of retribution. St. Paul, then, passed for *their* spiritual father. To Simon Peter was assigned that character, merely with respect to such "lost sheep of

the house of Israel^f” as had happily been awakened to consult their only real interests, by seeking safety for their souls within the fold of Jesus. It is true, indeed, that our Ante-Norman progenitors considered the great Apostle of the circumcision as charged especially to feed the flock of Christ. But then this charge appears to have been viewed as applying to St. Peter personally. When he had, accordingly, “fought the good fight,” and his parting soul was upon the very point of winging its joyous way to the realms of eternal rest and glory, his lips are represented as thus addressing his gracious Master: “My Jesus! I deliver to *thee* the sheep which thou committedst to me. They will not want a shepherd while thou art with them^h.”

The Saxon Church, nevertheless, adopted those traditions respecting St. Peter’s history which have obtained extensive credence in the Christian world. Her monuments, accordingly, represent that Apostle as having occupied the see of Antioch during seven years, and afterwards the see of Rome during twenty-five. Nor do they pretermitt his apocryphal contest, in the mighty seat of empire with Simon Magus; nor the legendary

^f St. Matt. xv. 24.

^g 2 Tim. iv. 7.

^h Wheloc. in Bed. p. 128, ex Hom. Angl. Sax.

embellishments appended to current relations of that alleged encounter. The venerable remains of our early national theology confirm also the received accounts of St. Peter's martyrdom with St. Paul, under the tyrannical rule of Nero⁵. It must not, however, be inferred from these testimonies to the Roman episcopate of Cephas, that Anglo-Saxon authorities esteemed the papal see venerable above all others. On the contrary, they represent St. James the Just as the successor to our blessed Lord in his universal episcopate⁶. The Church of Jerusalem was thus unequivocally recognised, in ancient England, as the mother of all Churches, a distinction obviously her due. She is also placed in a point of view which would give her the fairest title to be designated likewise as the mistress of all Churches.

Had the traditions, however, of our early forefathers, besides assigning the Roman episcopate, to St. Peter, also confirmed those interpretations of Scripture, so commonly connected with his name, obviously, they might still be found insufficient for the purposes of papal advocates. The Apostle's alleged privileges might have been merely personal; hence of a duration commensurate with the term of his continuance in the body. On the

other hand, a supremacy, claiming its origin from descendible powers, conferred upon St. Peter, plainly, might be admitted by those who agreed not in certain expositions of Scripture, by which that supremacy has been supported. What then were the views of our distant ancestry, respecting that ecclesiastical jurisdiction which emanated, as we are assured, from the great Apostle of the circumcision? Direct testimony, in this case, can hardly be expected; because notoriously, the more striking and obnoxious features of papal jurisprudence came not into notice until the pontificate of Gregory VII. a period subsequent to that embraced by the present undertaking. Facts, therefore, rather than express declarations, must guide those who would ascertain the nature of ancient England's relations with the Roman see.

The party attached to that see gained at Whitby the ascendancy for which it long had struggled. What were the principles urged in conference there? What were the grounds upon which the royal umpire professed to decide? Was it contended, and eventually determined, that the Pope held an indefeasible right of regulating all Christian Churches? By no means. Each of the contesting parties argued upon its own peculiar traditions and

views of expediency. On one side was alleged St. Peter's authority; on the other, St. John's. The former was preferred; because even the advocates for native usages admitted that Christ had intrusted to Cephias "the keys of the kingdom of heaven⁷."

Wilfrid, the principal Romish advocate upon this occasion, soon afterwards was driven from the see which had rewarded his exertions. In his distress, he sought a refuge in the papal court, and authorities there pronounced his deprivation uncanonical and unjust. Vainly, however, did this opinion, although strengthened by a letter from the Pontiff, seek for acquiescence from Wilfrid's countrymen. They treated with open contumely the results of this application, ordinarily represented as the first English appeal to the Roman see⁸. Even Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, foreigner as he was, and papal nominee besides, appears to have recognised no alien right of jurisdiction over the land of his adoption. He consecrated the two prelates, between whom, by royal authority, Wilfrid's diocese was divided, and if not an open adversary of that remarkable personage, he was at least a passive spectator of his misfortunes⁹.

In the next age, Rome, once glorious in

the Church as “the faithful city,” tarnished indelibly her lustre, by maintaining solemnly the worship of images. The Deutero-Nicene decrees, inculcating this principle, were transmitted by Charlemain to the Mercian Offa. By that powerful prince they were submitted to the spiritual guides of England. These, decisively, as they saw the papal see committed in them, treated them with unreserved contempt. Our English theologians plainly pronounced, that the Bithynian synod had approved “many things unsuitable to the Church of God, and contrary to the true faith; especially the worship of images, an usage altogether execrated by the Catholic Church¹⁰.” Who will believe, that men thus indifferent to the Pontiff’s credit and authority could have acknowledged him as the supreme arbiter of the Christian world? Nay more: as iconolatry had long been sanctioned by papal influence, how came our distant ancestry to have been wholly unprepared for that solemn decision, which formally engrafted it upon the Roman faith? How came Egbert, Archbishop of York, one of the most celebrated prelates of his day, to supply us with a passage, (mutilated indeed, but sufficiently plain,) proving that the religious use of images was, when he lived, wholly forbidden

and reprobated by the Church of England" ? In Italy it was then far otherwise. Again : how came Alcuin to have been recommended by Charlemain to the council of Frankfort ; that famous assembly which condemned the Deutero-Nicene decrees ? Undoubtedly our illustrious countryman brought from *home* principles adverse to the religious use of images. His, indeed, was the pen which wrote, on the part of his native land, an epistle, admirably confuting from Scripture, as we are told, those decisions which have brought so much obloquy upon the second council of Nice. To Alcuin, it has hence been inferred, posterity owes the *Caroline Books* ; those inestimable monuments of a distant age and an unsullied faith¹². At least, we cannot doubt that Charlemain spoke, in their far-famed and most important pages, the sentiments of his revered English friend. That very work affords, therefore, an additional proof, that England in the eighth century neither allowed the worship of images, nor that papal authority which then sought to establish such an usage throughout the west.

This neglect, however, of the Pontiff's authority resulted not from any temporary disgust or alienation. On the contrary, Offa, then preeminent among Anglo-Saxon

princes, gladly received two legates of the Roman see, at the time, or very near it, when the Deutero-Nicene Fathers were earning an ever-memorable name. Anxious to mortify the Kentish court, and the prelate who filled the see of Canterbury, Offa determined upon establishing a metropolitan within his own dominions, and he sought to conciliate popularity for his purpose, by the judgment of Roman canonists in its favour. His Italian visitors refused not their approbation; and it is remarkable, that they describe themselves as the only bearers of a papal commission to England, since the time of Augustine¹³. For such legations, indeed, the ordinary course of Anglo-Saxon polity afforded very little opportunity. Advice and information were the only objects of our distant ancestors in applying to their Italian friends. To the exercise of any ecclesiastical authority above that of the see of Canterbury, we are expressly assured they were utter strangers¹⁴.

In that see, accordingly, without even the *form* of a reference to Rome, was vested a controul over episcopal vacancies. On the death of their prelate, the principal inhabitants of a diocese, both clerical and lay, elected a successor. This individual was then presented to his metropolitan, and on conse-

eration he was required to swear canonical obedience to no other¹⁵. The metropolitans themselves were indeed in the habit of receiving a pall from the papal see: an insidious compliment, which eventually undermined the independence of their several churches¹⁶. But this consummation had not arrived within the Anglo-Saxon period. No member of our national religious establishment, as *then* existing, was reduced to the humiliating necessity of recognising any alien authority whatsoever, as entitled to interfere in the domestic affairs of England.

The supreme direction of religious concerns within their dominions, was indeed an undisputed and uninterrupted prerogative of our Anglo-Saxon kings. Hence among their ordinances are found *many* of a character strictly ecclesiastical; and among the privileges which they exercised are some which later ages have reserved exclusively for the papal see. Nay more: the monarchs of this ancient race have even made use of titles appropriated commonly to the Roman pontiffs. Thus Edgar styles himself "the Vicar of Christ," and Edward the Confessor asserts, that, as "Vicar of the Supreme King," his duty called him to rule the Church of God. Now these two sovereigns were eminently

subservient to ecclesiastical influence. Their language, therefore, and several of their acts, indicate sufficiently, that when they swayed the sceptre, an ecclesiastical supremacy was recognised as an integral portion of their inheritance¹⁸.

In unison with this acknowledgment of the crown as the head of their country's religious establishment, were the views of Christ's earthly kingdom entertained among Anglo-Saxon divines. They restricted not God's inheritance to a particular body, owning spiritual obedience to some one visible head. Yet they were very far from overlooking or undervaluing religious unity. But they taught, that it was to be found in a holy congregation, united by identity of faith, hope, and charity¹⁹.

Nor by the faith which they required from all who claimed the right hand of Christian fellowship did they understand any body of religious principles incapable of scriptural proof. The Catholic of Anglo-Saxon times was he who held such expositions of holy Scripture as were defined in the first four general councils²⁰. Of that inconsistency, by which the modern Church of Rome solemnly assents to *one* definition of the Catholic faith, in the Athanasian creed, and to *another*, of a

much greater extent, and of a very different nature, in the Confession of Pope Pius, no trace appears among the venerable remains of our ancient Church.

In truth, the primacy (if such a term may be allowed) conceded in Anglo-Saxon times to the Roman see, extended not beyond an admission of its established precedence, and a respectful deference for its authority. The former distinction had necessarily devolved upon a prelacy established in a city, where the Cæsars long had given law to nations. The latter had gradually sprung from a habit of inveterate prevalence, which restrained religious novelties, or extravagances, nurtured under cover of provincial obscurity, by a reference to the superior information of the capital. It was this habit, so deeply rooted in the west, so assiduously cherished by the Roman prelates, which led to a veneration for their see among our early forefathers. Visits to their court were esteemed equally honourable and advantageous. Of appeals to them, however, for judicial sentences, instances would be vainly sought in the records of Ante-Norman England.

Did, then, results of a beneficial nature only, flow from the intercourse of our progenitors with Rome? Very far from it. A few

among them, no doubt, occasionally derived something of refinement, and secular information, from visits to the former seat of imperial greatness. But ruinous and extensive evils alloyed these very limited advantages. Rome, unhappily, became the nurse and patroness of superstition. May it not therefore fairly be presumed, that Italian influence led the Saxon Church to adopt eventually various usages and principles, for which no authority appears in any records coeval with her conversion? Roman legends also fostered a spirit of credulity in her unlettered population. For it is remarkable that the biographies of Saxon saints, although not altogether free from miraculous embellishments, are incomparably more so, than similar pieces imported from abroad.

It was another and a more injurious consequence of ancient England's connection with Rome, that Latin offices usurped the place of a service which all the country could understand. To the evils hence arising, let testimony be borne by the memorable complaint of Alfred. Among the clergy subjected to his rule, there were scarcely any, that admirable prince mournfully remarks, capable of interpreting the liturgy²¹. Nor was the

rate of learning universally much higher even among individuals of episcopal condition²². Against such crying evils, vernacular translations of the three creeds, the *Te Deum*, with other hymns, and of the devotions for private use, afforded, undoubtedly, some provision. Royal ordinances too²³, and episcopal admonitions²⁴, enjoined the clergy to deliver such popular explanations of these pieces, as might enable their congregations to pray, not only with the lips, but with the understanding also. While, however, the Communion service, or mass, with other offices for public worship, retained their foreign dress, any such regulations must have been seriously impeded in effecting their destined purpose. Erroneous views of religious institutions will ever find a soil fitted for their growth, in the minds of men who hear from God's appointed ministers what sounds more like some mysterious charm, than like a reasonable service. The general tone also of knowledge and intelligence appears to have been grievously lowered in ancient England, by her adoption of a foreign ritual. Domestic *intellectual culture naturally* fell into disrepute. Hence, although neither books were conspicuously deficient, nor the mere power of reading

them, yet unhappily their contents were effectually hidden under the disguise of an unknown tongue²⁵.

This establishment of a foreign service appears the more inexcusable, because Gregory the Great, liturgist as he was, desired not to impose upon England his own labours, or indeed any formularies of the Roman Church. He left Augustine a full discretionary power to model the public worship of his converts in any manner that might seem most expedient²⁶. That meritorious missionary succeeded, however, in obtaining within our island, a footing so very limited and insecure, that he probably found but little leisure, and saw but little necessity, to change the offices which he had used in Italy, for others adapted especially for the edification of his insular children in the faith of Christ. His earliest successors were circumstanced but little differently from himself. They too were foreigners, incessantly struggling for ascendancy over that national Church, by whose exertions the great majority of Englishmen had been turned from "worshipping dumb idols, to serve the living God." Men thus engaged in "striving for the mastery" are naturally tempted to claim a superiority over their adversaries in every distinctive peculiarity. Hence they

commonly find themselves, on attaining victory, fettered by previous declarations, from which a false shame forbids them to recede.

The more discerning minds in ancient England were won over, probably, to acquiesce in the use of a foreign liturgy, by an anxiety to terminate completely those animosities which long had separated the holders of a common faith. Such a spirit of compromise is, however, not infrequently very far from safe. It has, indeed, an obvious tendency to weaken outworks which may guard important principles in their full integrity. Hence those who value their own souls, and the souls of such as may be affected by their decisions, are especially bound to pause when religious questions are argued upon the deceitful ground of expediency. Their duty plainly calls them, upon such occasions, to seek counsel from the recorded "oracles of God." Who will thence learn to follow as the conveniences or prejudices of the passing hour may lead? Rather will the Christian reader see, that he is invariably to take as the pole-star of his earthly course those principles which came from heaven, and which are calculated for eternity.

The danger of abandoning this unbending steadiness of purpose is exemplified abun-

dantly in England's eventual relations with papal Rome. Norman theology gradually weaned the great majority of our fathers from "the traditions which they had been taught." They ceased to regard our blessed Saviour as the "rock" upon which his holy Church was built. A large party among their clergy zealously strove even to wrest from the crown its ecclesiastical supremacy. With the progress, however, of such innovations, this undertaking has no concern. Its object is accomplished in shewing that our ancestors, in thus admitting an alien jurisdiction, forsook "the old paths, the good way," in which earlier generations had securely and honourably trodden.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SERMON III.

¹ “ *EGO dico tibi, quia tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo Ecclesiam meam.* Metaphorice ei dictur *Super, hanc petram*, id est, *Salvatorem*, quem confessus es, *ædificatur Ecclesia*, qui fideli confessori sui nominis participium donavit.

Et portæ inferi non prævalebunt adversus eam. Portas inferi hæreticam pravitatem nominat, sive vitia et peccata; unde mors ad animam venit.

Et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum. Id est, discernendi scientiam potentiamque qua dignos debeas in regnum recipere, et indignos secludere.

Et quodcunque ligaveris, &c. Hæc potestas sine dubio cunctis datur Apostolis, quibus ab eo, post resurrectionem, dicitur generaliter, *Accipite Spiritum Sanctum, &c.* Nec non episcopis et presbyteris, et omni Ecclesiæ idem officium committitur; quamvis quidam eorum, non recte intelligentes, arbitrentur se posse damnare innoxios, et absolvere reos; quod nequaquam possunt: sed tentantes semetipsos concessa potestate privare.” (Ven. Bed. in loc.). The same doctrine is taught by Raban Maur *De Universo*, lib. IV. Opp. tom. I. p. 82.

² “ Paul is the thirteenth of this heap, (i. e. number, or society.) He was not bodily with Crist,

while he was alive; but he chose him afterwards from heaven, and he is ordained equal to St. Peter for his great merits and labours." From the Homily *In natale unius Apostoli*. Mrs. Elstob's Transl. (Pref. xl.) where also may be seen the original Saxon, as likewise, with a Latin translation, in Whelock's Bede, p. 289.

Mrs. Elstob well observes, as usual, after Whelock, that king Alfred appears to have thought no less highly of St. Paul's position in the Christian Church. Bede calls that Apostle, *Ille cœlestis exercitus præcipuus miles*. (Ecel. Hist. p. 95.) The following is the royal translator's paraphrastic version of these words. *Se mæŕta cempa 7 re hýhŕta ƿær heoƿonlican peoƿoðer. The greatest soldier, and the highest of the heavenly army.* It can hardly be supposed that this language proceeded from one who looked upon St. Paul as inferior to St. Peter.

In a metrical Latin hymn, with an interlinear Saxon version, found among a volume of such pieces in the Bodleian library, being a transcript by Junius, (MSS. Junii 107.) the equality of these two great Apostles is plainly stated, and their respective pretensions are thus treated:

“ Est Petrus janitor cœli,
Et Paulus doctor orbis;
Et sunt iudices sæculi *pariter*,
Et vera lumina mundi.”

*Iŕ petŕe Ʒeatpeaŕð heoƿonan ·
And paule lapeoŕ ýmbhŕýŕŕter ·
And hi ƕýndon ðeman peoŕulðe ƕamoð ·
And ƕoðe leoht miððan-eaŕð.*

*Petre is gateward (porter) of heaven,
And Paule teacher of the globe,
And they are judges of the world equally,
And true lights of the earth.*

It should be observed, that the MS. from which this extract is made is written without any attention to metrical arrangement.

³ “Then shall every one shew what gain he hath made with his Talent. Then does Peter lead forth all the Jewish people, which, by his doctrine, he had brought to the belief. Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles, *he leads forth almost all the world.*” From a Homily on the Talents, (Wheloc. in Bed. 289.) Mrs. Elstob’s Transl. (Pref. xli.)

⁴ “Peter’s ship, which stood near, signified the Jewish folk who turned to Crist, and believed in him: although some of them would not. In them was the beginning of the whole Church. That other ship signified the whole heathen folk, who, of all mankind, acknowledged with faith the beloved Jesus: and this is the Church. The Jewish folk was called the *Sinagoga*: that is, the *Gathering*, in English speech.” *Ex Hom. Dom. vi. post Pentec. Wheloc. in Bed. 257.*

⁵ Se halga petrus pær ahapen on þam dæge on hīr byrceop-ŕtol on þære býrig antiochian. þone ŕtol he ȝeræt reoƿon ȝear fullice. ⁊ riððan ȝependen be ȝoder pirrunȝe to þære mæran rome býrig. ⁊ þær binnan punode riƿ ⁊ tƿentiȝ ȝeara. ⁊ þela pundra æteorðe þære romaniŕcan leode oððæt he hi to ȝeleaƿan ȝebiȝde. He ferðe fram antiochian forðan þe he pær apoŕtol ⁊ rceolde ȝe-

hpær gecuman· 7 criſtendom ariæpan. Ða ƒeræt he on rome oðer biſceop-ſetl oð þ̅ ƒe apleara ne-po hine ahencƒ on ƿode. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Julius. E. 7. Ex Hom. viii. Kl. Mar. Cathedra S. Pet. f. 53.) *The holy Petrus was raised, on this day, to his episcopal seat, in the city of Antiochia: in which see he sat, seven years, fully; and then departed, by God's direction, to the great city, Rome; and there dwelt five and twenty years, and manifested many wonders to the Roman people before that he converted them to the faith. He went from Antiochia, because he was an Apostle, and should go every where, and rear Cristendom. Then sat he in Rome, his other episcopal see, until the wicked Nero hanged him on a cross.*

Æfter drihtenes upriƒe ƿær petrus bodiende ƒeleapan þam leodſcipum þe ƒýnd ƒecƿedene ƒalacia· cappadocia· biðmia· aria· italia. Sýððan ýmbe týn ƒeara fýrr̅ he ƿende to rome býriƒ· 7 he ƒe ƒerette biſceop-ſetl· 7 þær ƒeræt v 7 xx ƒeara· læriende þa romeſcan ceafteƿ ƒeƿaron ƒoder mæriða mid mæclum tacnum. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii, 22. De Passione Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.) *After the Lord's ascension Petrus was preaching the faith, in the regions which are called Galatia, Cappadocia, Bithinia, Asia, Italia. Then, about ten years from the first, he went to the city of Rome, and he established an episcopal see, and sat there 25 years, teaching the men of the Roman city God's glory, with great signs. Of these “signs” the most eminent was, probably, considered that contest with Simon Magus, (Simon ƒe ðrý·) so famous in legendary lore, and which is detailed*

at length in this Homily. The same piece contains the following notice of St. Peter's martyrdom, and of that of his apostolical associate.

Sainod hi ferðon petrus 7 paulur on þîrum ðæge riȝeræfte to þære heofonlican pununȝe on þam riȝ 7 xxx teoȝoðan ȝeape æfter x̄per þropunȝe mid þam hi puniað on ecenerre. *Together they went, Petrus and Paulus, on this day, victorious to the heavenly abode; in the six and thirtieth year after Crist's passion: with whom they dwell for ever.*

⁶ "Then the Apostles, before they went away, placed James, who was called the Just, in Crist's seat, and all the faithful congregation obeyed him, according to God's teaching. He then sat in that see thirty years; and after him Symeon, a relation of Jesus." *Wheloc. in Bed.* 397.

⁷ The synod of Strenæshalch, now Whitby, holden in 664, is pronounced by Baronius rather a *conference*, or *collation*, than a *synod*, or *council*; inasmuch as it was not attended by a regular assemblage of the provincial bishops. Oswy, king of Northumberland, who presided, was then *Bretwalda*, or supreme monarch of South Britain. His wife was Eanfleda, a Kentish princess, who brought into the north a priest of the Roman party, and who resolutely maintained the prejudices of her education. It could not be expected that this lady should neglect any opportunities of inculcating her own peculiar notions upon the minds of her offspring. Nor does she seem to have overlooked her advantages in this way. Her son Alchfrid, accordingly, was placed under the tuition of Wilfrid, a zealous admirer of the Roman system; and, as

might be supposed, the young prince espoused his mother's principles in preference to his father's. Thus, the Northumbrian monarch, as his family grew up, found his great external prosperity somewhat balanced by domestic dissensions. When a man who has long resisted under such circumstances, at last expresses an intention of solemnly reconsidering the subject of dispute, he has generally made up his mind to seek some plausible pretext for giving way. Oswy, most probably, took his seat at the *council* or *collation* of Strenæshalch with a fixed, though unavowed determination of this kind. He seems, accordingly, to have listened in silence during the arguments upon tradition and usage advanced by the respective disputants, and to have taken no notice of Wilfrid's appeal to the decrees of the Roman see. He looked upon all these topics, probably, as rather within the sphere of divines and canonists, than as tangible by ordinary reasoners. But when Wilfrid asked his adversary, Colman, "Do you mean to give your Columba" (the principal alleged British authority for the national Easter) "a preference over St. Peter, the janitor of heaven?" Oswy saw at once that the opening, for which he had probably watched, was now afforded to him. "Did our Lord," he enquired, "really promise to St. Peter the keys of the kingdom of heaven?" The answer was, "Undoubtedly he did, O king." Oswy then said, "And can you, Colman, bring forward any grant of a similar privilege conferred upon your Columba?" The Northumbrian bishop of course admitted that he could not. "You, both of you, then agree," rejoined the king, "that St. Peter had from our Lord a promise

of the heavenly keys?" "Certainly," it was replied on either hand. "Then, I tell you," said Oswy, "I shall not contradict the janitor of heaven; lest when I shall knock at the gate, he should refuse to open it to me." This brief mode of sparing the hearers any trouble of thinking over the learned arguments which they had been compelled to hear, and of casting a ludicrous colouring over the whole transaction, was received with that general applause which rarely fails to reward brevity and humour in eloquence, even where kings are not the speakers. The assembly was pretty unanimous in agreeing to respect that tradition, for which was alleged the heavenly janitor's authority. Colman, however, and many of his friends naturally felt rather ill-used, than convinced, by a decision so manifestly unfair and absurd. After a short interval, accordingly, the baffled prelate left his diocese, and retired into Scotland, attended by a considerable number of his more devoted admirers.

It should perhaps be stated, that Wilfrid, in arguing upon this occasion, not only seems to have mentioned "the decrees of the apostolical see," merely as one reason for agreeing to his own view of the questions at issue, but that also he makes a distinction between that "see" and "the universal Church." *Tu autem*, he says, *et socii tui, si audita decreta sedis apostolicæ, imo universalis Ecclesiæ, et hæc literis sacris confirmata, sequi contemnitis, absque ulla dubitatione peccatis.* It is, in fact, evident that papal decisions were viewed by the parties appealing to them as important, indeed, for ascertaining the sounder side of the question, but not as claiming judicially a right of obedience.

Bed. Eccl. Hist. lib. III. cc. 25, 26. pp. 233, 239.
 Dr. Ingram's Saxon Chronicle, pp. 48, 88. Spelman.
 Conc. p. 150. Usser. Brit. Eccl. Antiqu. p. 482.
 Eadmer. Vit. S. Wilfrid. apud Mabillon. Act. SS.
 Ord. S. Benedict. Lut. Par. 1673. tom. III. p. 202.
 Eadmer's *Life of Wilfrid* is to be found in MS. in
 the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.
 No. CCCLXXI.

⁸ Tuda, a former adherent of the British party, who had been brought over to the Roman side, was appointed bishop of Northumbria on the retirement of Colman. But the new prelate lived no more than a few months after his promotion. Wilfrid, being about thirty years of age, was then chosen to preside over the northern diocese. In this dignified post he soon gave general offence by his ostentatious habits and love of interference. To his royal patron, and former pupil, Alchfrid, or Egfrid, now king in Oswy's room, he appears to have rendered himself particularly obnoxious by abetting the fanaticism of that sovereign's wife, Æthelreda, or Audrey; a princess who was obstinately bent upon deserting her husband, and shutting herself up in a monastery. Eddius, however, Wilfrid's chaplain, attributes that prelate's disgrace to his style of living, and fondness of accumulation. Probably, both causes concurred in effecting his ruin. He was, in fact, driven from his diocese. He then repaired to Rome, and finding some sort of a council deliberating there, he laid his case before it. By the pope and his advisers his deprivation was pronounced uncanonical, and he was sent home with a letter to that effect, addressed to his sovereign. That this letter mentioned no claim to any papal authority

for deciding such cases as Wilfrid's judicially, appears plainly enough from the following words of Eadmer. "*Perveniens vir Dei Britanniam regi literas, quas ab apostolica sede acceperat, detulit, et earundem literarum auctoritatem subnixum in conventu nobilium causam suam viva voce defendit, seque falso accusatum, ac injuria degradatum libera protestatione ostendit.*" (Bibl. C. C. C. C. MSS. Parker. CCCLXXI. p. 51.) Wilfrid, then, pleaded that his deprivation was inconsistent with the received principles of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, (a plea which he confirmed by producing the judgment of Roman canonists,) and he sought besides to vindicate his own character from the reflections cast upon it. Fridegod, accordingly, a monastic writer of the tenth century, more intent, certainly, upon displaying a knowledge of Greek, and a talent for poetical grandiloquence, than upon the development of historical truth, thus describes the communication which Wilfrid brought from Rome :

*“ Annuit, et scriptis legalibus Archierarchus
Theodoro, Regique jubet sancita notari:
Ni pietate pari conservent jussa Magistri,
Judicio Domini cunctos anathemate plecti,
Quærentes animam sine re damnare Beati.”*

(Mabillon. Act. SS. Ord. Ben. tom. III. p. 169.) It does not appear from this passage that the *Archierarchus*, or pope, laid claim to any power of enforcing the restitution of Wilfrid. Only he denounced divine vengeance against Egfrid, and Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, (a prelate who concurred in the proceedings against Wilfrid, and probably promoted them also,) unless these two should agree to his restoration. Nor does this ancient Bene-

dictine poet hint that Wilfrid alleged, when he appeared before Egfrid on his return, any papal authority judicially competent to his restitution. On the contrary, from the following lines he seems to have considered that the disgraced prelate chiefly argued his case upon scriptural grounds. (*Ibid.* p. 188.)

“ *Post evangelicum catorthoma, post recitatas
Sedis apostolicæ causas, indigne ferebant
Oppositi quidem raptam persolvere prædam.
Urgebantur acri furioso pectore bile :
Permulcentque, nefas ! perverso fasmate regem
Spernere syngraphas furtivis rebus adeptas ;
Symystemque Dei gaudent sycophanta notari.
Tandem semoto Patrem trusere locello,
Blanda retractantem Regis promissa Superni,
Olim qui dixit, Qui vos, hic me quoque spernit.”*

From this extract it might seem that Wilfrid's effects had been confiscated : which is likely enough, and would certainly furnish a very cogent reason with most men why he should not be restored. Or the poet may refer to that division of his diocese which had been effected since his removal from it. However the case may be, it is undeniable that the papal interference in his favour was treated with the utmost contempt : a plain proof that the Northumbrian court, though willing to follow the religious usages of Rome, admitted not the pontiff to any jurisdiction over England. The words of Eadmer are : “ *Propria itaque rex ira cæcatus, et seducentium se adulatione a vero distractus, literas apostolici papæ tumido fastu despexit, despiciendo irrisit, irridendo a se procul abjecit, ac in famulum Dei nequissimum delatoris crimen iniecit.”*

° Although the Roman party had ever been esta-

blished in Kent, and by the accession of Oswy had obtained political influence over the whole of England, yet the people generally seem to have rather preferred that national Church to which they had chiefly owed their conversion. On the death of Deusdedit, bishop of Canterbury, we find, accordingly, that Wine, bishop of Winchester, was the only prelate in the island who had received what the Romanists chose to call canonical consecration; and that his zeal for the foreign party was none of the most ardent may be inferred from the fact, that he used the cooperation of two British bishops in consecrating the famous St. Chad. Thus the acquisition of the Northumbrian royal family to the Roman side appears to have turned the scale in favour of a cause rather upon the decline. This powerful family, having thus committed itself, naturally became anxious to reduce the whole nation to a conformity with Italian usages. Probably it was thought, that one reason why England had been found so backward in adopting these usages was to be attributed to the constant possession of the see of Canterbury by foreigners. When Deusdedit, accordingly, died, Oswy, king of Northumberland, and Egbert, king of Kent, advised with each other as to the best mode of terminating those religious dissensions which had so long agitated the country. The result was, that they recommended to the choice of their subjects a native priest named Wighard, as the successor of Deusdedit. He was elected, and was sent to Rome for consecration. Soon after his arrival in that city, Wighard died. Vitalian, the pope, then took upon himself to consecrate to the see of Canterbury an elderly monk of great

learning, energy, and moral worth, named Theodore, a native of Tarsus, in Cilicia. A negotiation for the admission of the new prelate probably followed; for he spent very nearly a year, after his consecration, in France. At length, however, in 669, he landed in England, and applied the whole force of his able and active mind to render the country throughout conformable to Roman usages. Favouring circumstances aiding the exertions of Theodore, he found them crowned with success; and he seems to have been the first prelate of Canterbury, who established any authority for that see beyond the limits of Kent. In other words, he seems to have been the first individual connected with Rome, whom ancient England owned for a metropolitan. Thus Theodore realized the project in which Augustine had failed, and which appears to have languished, as rather hopeless, since the Kentish apostle's death. But the monk of Tarsus, although zealous to identify the religious rites of England with those of Rome, appears to have known nothing of any right inherent in the latter to jurisdiction over the former. Had he acknowledged any such right, we should certainly have heard something of his interference in Wilfrid's behalf, after that prelate's return from Rome with a pontifical communication in his favour. Bed. 248, 253. Inett's *Origines Anglicanæ*, I. cc. 5, 6, 7.

¹⁰ “Anno 792. Carolus, rex Francorum, misit synodalem librum ad Britanniam, sibi a Constantinopoli directum, in quo libro, (heu, proh dolor!) multa inconvenientia, et veræ fidei contraria, reperiuntur: maxime, quod pene omnium orientalium doctorum, non minus quam trecentorum, vel eo

amplius, episcoporum, unanimi assertione confirmatum fuerit, imagines adorari debere: *quod omnino Ecclesia Dei execratur.* Contra quod scripsit Albinus epistolam, ex autoritate divinarum Scripturarum mirabiliter affirmatam; illamque cum eodem libro, ex persona episcoporum, ac principum nostrum, regi Francorum attulit.” (Rogeri de Hoveden Annalium pars I. inter Rerum Anglic. Scriptores post Bedam. Francof. 1601. p. 405.) The very same words occur in Simeon of Durham. (Hist. de Gest. RR. Angl. inter Hist. Angl. Scriptores X. ex edit. Twysden. Lond. 1652. p. 111.) Matthew of Westminster also (Flores Hist. Francof. 1601. p. 146.) has adopted them with scarcely any variation. This implicit transcription is not only a strong presumption that the facts related were considered indisputable, when these ancient chroniclers wrote, but also, that even then those opinions respecting papal preeminence, which have since prevailed, had by no means attained maturity. Had it been otherwise, these ecclesiastical writers of English history would, in all probability, have devised some expedient for softening down the very remarkable statement, as more recent events have made it, which they furnish upon this occasion. One or more among them, indeed, might have seen no occasion for noticing such embarrassing facts at all.

“ Non oportet aliquid ponere in ecclesia nisi quæ ad ministeria ecclesiastica pertinent: in Deuteronomio scriptum est: *Non plantabis lucum nec statuam juxta sanctuarium Domini.*” (Excerpt. Egbert. Ebor. Archiep. c. 35. Spelman. Conc. 262. Labb. et Coss. VI. 1589.) There is a *lacuna* in the

MS. from which this passage has been transferred to the various editions of the councils; and no wonder; the whole of the Scripture to which Egbert refers being this: "Thou shalt not plant thee a grove of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord thy God, which thou shalt make thee. Neither shalt thou set thee up any image: which the Lord thy God hateth." (Deut. xvi. 21, 22.)

As the *Excerpts* of archbishop Egbert are, in fact, a collection of canons and regulations then received in the Church, we may naturally expect to find this particular passage among the decrees of some antecedent council. It is, probably, then an amplification of the 36th canon of the council of Elvira, (holden about 305.) "*Placuit picturas in Ecclesia esse non debere: ne quid colitur et adoratur, in parietibus depingatur.*" (Labb. et Coss. I. 974.) If this conjecture as to the source of Egbert's prohibition be well founded, it is an evidence that the Elviran canon, so embarrassing to Romish writers, and ordinarily restricted by them to pictures, was understood in early times as a general prohibition of every thing having an idolatrous tendency in places of public worship.

It may be added, that the words obviously defective in the *Excerpt* cited above strongly confirm what Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and Matthew of Westminster say of the judgment passed in England upon the Deutero-Nicene decrees: "*Quod omnino Ecclesia Catholica execratur,*" seeming to be little else than a paraphrase upon "which the Lord thy God hateth."

¹² This interesting and important remain of antiquity was first published in 12mo, anonymously,

in 1549, under the title of *Opus Inlustrissimi et excellentissimi seu spectabilis viri, Caroli Magni, nutu Dei, regis Francorum, Gallias, Germaniam, Italiamque, sive harum finitimas provincias, Domino opitulante, regentis, contra Synodum, quæ in partibus Græciæ pro adorandis imaginibus stolide sive arroganter gesta est.* The editor was Tilly, bishop of Melun, and the place of impression Paris: but this does not appear in the title-page. A second edition was published at Cologne in 1555, a third, by Goldastus, in 1608, and a fourth by Heuman, at Hanover, in 1731. (Cave, Hist. Lit. 493. Mosheim. Eccl. Hist. II. 267. note.) As Charlemain can hardly be considered actually to have written this decisive testimony against the modern Romish religion, it is far from unreasonable to suppose, as many have done, that it came from the pen of his learned friend Alcuin, and that it is the very piece, probably, with some amplifications which our ancient chroniclers style an *Epistle*. It might not very improperly be thus described, because it was intended for transmission to the Pope, as a justification of Charlemain's conduct in rejecting the Deutero-Nicene council. The very copy prepared for that purpose is yet preserved in the Vatican. The *Caroline Books*, especially when viewed in conjunction with the decrees of the council of Frankfort in 794, and with those of the council of Paris in 824, or in the following year, are an undeniable proof that image-worship was unanimously rejected by the churches of Gaul and Germany, and that these religious societies, however disposed to respect the Roman see, admitted it not to the privilege of overruling their established religious

opinions. Alcuin's connection with Charlemain, and other circumstances, render it sufficiently certain that the Church of England agreed with her continental neighbours as to these matters. Du Pin, accordingly, hesitates not to say, "The worshipping of images, being established in the East, was also received at Rome, whilst in France, Germany, and England, all outward worshipping of them was unknown." (New Eccl. Hist. VI. 150.) For some ancient testimonies, mentioning the second council of Nice with utter contempt, see *Lau-noii Epistolæ* (Cant. 1689.) pp. 733, 734. An abstract from the *Caroline Books* may be seen in Du Pin VI. 145.

¹³ " *Quia, ut scitis,*" say the legates, "*a tempore Sancti Augustini pontificis, sacerdos nullus Romanus illuc missus est, nisi nos.*" The reason of this papal interference will, probably, be found in the hostility entertained by Offa, king of Mercia, towards Kent, and the archbishop of Canterbury: hence he desired to found an archiepiscopal see at Lichfield. Jambert, or Lambert, archbishop of Canterbury, was not very likely to relish the dismemberment of his province; but it is obvious, that if the most powerful prince of the Octarchy desired the measure, and the Roman see could be brought to advise it, the metropolitan would find it difficult to resist. Such was the event of this legatine visit: Jambert consented to the division of his province, and Lichfield became an archiepiscopal see. The council of Calcuith, which the legates attended, is referred to the year 787. (Spelman. Conc. 293. Inett's *Orig. Angl.* I. 202.) That advice merely was sought from Rome in this transaction is further shewn

by an epistle from Kenulph, king of Mercia, to pope Leo III. desiring an opinion as to the withdrawing of archiepiscopal honours from Lichfield.

“*Sed tamen,*” says the Mercian prince, “*Excellentiam vestram humiles exoramus, quibus a Deo merito sapientiæ clavis collata est, ut super hac causa cum sapientibus vestris quærat, et quidquid vobis videatur, nobis postea servandum rescribere dignemini.*” Kenulph had already said, “*Pontifices nostri ac peritissimi quique in nobis dicunt, quod contra canones et apostolica statuta, quæ nobis a patre beatissimo Gregorio dirigente statuta sunt, sicut vos scitis, auctoritas Dorobernensis metropolitani in duas scinditur parochias.*” Thus those who passed for the best canonists in England, asserted that the partition of the province of Canterbury was contrary to the generally received principles of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, and to the constitution of the national Church in particular. An opinion upon the soundness of this representation is requested, after due consultation, from Rome. Evidently nothing is presented in this case, different in kind from an application for the best legal or other advice. The king does not mention any papal authority to pronounce a judicial determination of the question. He only desires that Leo, and the *sapientes* about him, would consider whether the English canonists had taken a just view of the question or no. Spelman. Conc. 320. Labb. et Coss. VII. 1110.

¹⁴ “Eodem anno (temp. Hen. I.) venit in Angliam Guido, archiepiscopus Viennensis, functus, ut dicebat, legatione totius Britanniae, ex præcepto et auctoritate apostolicæ sedis. Quod, per Angliam

auditum, in admirationem omnibus venit: *inauditum*, scilicet, in *Britannia*, *cuncti scientes*, *quemlibet hominum super se vices apostolicas gerere nisi solum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ*. Quapropter, sicut venit, ita reversus est, a nemine pro Legato susceptus, nec in aliquo Legati officio functus." (Eadmeri Hist. Nov. lib. III. ex edit. Selden. Lond. 1623. p. 58.—Ad calcem S. Anselmi Opp. ex edit. Monachorum Congreg. S. Maur. Lut. Paris. 1675. p. 59.) This complete superiority of the see of Canterbury in the ancient ecclesiastical establishment of England, appears also clearly from the professions of canonical obedience published by Hearne. Among these, Herewin, elect of Lichfield, promises subjection to the Church of Canterbury, "*quæ caput est totius gentis Anglorum*." Professionum Antiq. Angl. Episc. Formulæ. ad calcem *Text. Roffens*. Oxon. 1720. p. 246.

"Ita quoque examinatus et pleniter instructus, cum consensu monachorum, sive clericorum, et laicorum, ac conventu totius provinciæ episcoporum, maximeque archiepiscopi Christi ecclesiæ ab auctoritate aut præsentia, ordinetur." (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 3. f. 92.) The next extract will be found to contain fuller information upon this subject.

In a pontifical, formerly belonging to the priory of St. Swithin, at Winchester, and now in the public library at Cambridge, (Ec. ii. 3.) of a date posterior to the Conquest, we still find the decree as to the confirmation of episcopal elections by the clergy and laity, but it is thus prefaced: "Venerando sanctæ Cantuariensi metropolitano N. clerus atque

populus ecclesiæ illi debitam subjectionem. Vestræ paternitati est cognitum, &c.” In the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, (MSS. Parker, LXXIX. f. 42.) is also the passage *decretum quod clerus et populus firmare debet de electo episcopo*. An older pontifical, in the same library (XLIV.), as it is remarkable for other variations from more modern MSS. of the same kind, so it is also for omitting any mention of subjection to the Roman see. The bishop elect was required to bind himself to obedience to the see of Canterbury, and nothing more.

“Decretum quod Clerus et Populus firmare debet de electo Episcopo.

“Dominis patribus Ill. Ill. venerabilibus : scilicet Episcopis dioceseos metropolis, clerus, ordo, et plebs huic sanctæ ecclesiæ specialiter obsequentes.

“Vestræ paternitati est cognitum quantum temporis est ex quo, accidentibus variis eventibus, hæc sancta ecclesia metropolis nostro sit viduata pastore, ac destituta rectore. Quod non solum ad nostrum, verum et ad vestrum, ac omnis hujus dioceseos detrimentum pertinere dinoscitur : cum totius providentiæ sollicitudo metropolitano constet esse commissa. Propterea eligimus hujus dioceseos illius ecclesiæ presbyterum, nomine Ill. nobis sufficienter cognitum ; natalibus, et moribus, nobilem ; apostolica, et ecclesiastica disciplina imbutum ; fide catholicum ; natura prudentem, docibilem, patientem ; moribus temperatum ; vita castum, sobrium, humilem, affabilem, misericordem ; literatum ; in lege Dei instructum ; in Scripturarum sensibus cautum ; in dogmatibus ecclesiasticis exercitatum ; et secundum Scripturarum tramitem, traditionemque

ortodoxorum, et canonum, ac decretorum sedis apostolicæ præsulum constitutiones, sano sensu ecclesiasticas regulas intelligentem, sanoque sermone doctentem atque servantem; amplectentem eum qui secundum doctrinam est fidelem sermonem; et cum modestia corripientem eos qui resistunt. Et qui sanæ doctrinæ adversantur eis resistere et redarguere prævalentem; hospitalem, modestum, suæ domui bene præpositum, non neophytum, habentem testimonium bonum; in gradibus singulis secundum traditionem ecclesiasticam ministrantem; ad omne opus bonum, et ad satisfactionem omniposcenti rationem de ea quæ in illo est spe, paratum. Quem nobis quantotius petimus ordinari pontificem, quatinus, auctore Domino, regulariter nobis præesse valeat, et prodesse, et nos sub ejus regimine salubriter Domino militari possimus: quia integritas præsidentium salus est subditorum, et ubi est incolumitas obedientiæ, ibi est sana forma doctrinæ. Ut autem omnium nostrum vota in hanc electionem convenire noscatis huic decreto canonico promptissima voluntate singuli manibus propriis roborantes subscripsimus." (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, C. 1. f. 117.) The customary interrogations follow, and comprise a promise of submission to the Roman see. The volume, it should be observed, which is imperfect, is thought to be partly posterior to the Conquest. Wanley (p. 220.) thus describes it: "Fragmentum libri pontificalis pulcherrime et maxima ex parte ante Conquestum Angliæ scripti."

¹⁶ *Dissertatio de usu Pallii*, ad calcem *Libri Diurni Romanorum Pontificum*; ex antiquissimo codice MS. nunc primum in lucem editi: Op. et

Stud. Joan. Garnerii, Presb. e Soc. Jes. Paris.
1680.

“ I. Pallii nomine, qua significatione hic sumitur, genus quoddam sacri vestimenti intelligitur, quo Patriarchæ amiciebantur quidem cum ordinarentur, exuebantur vero, si deponi contingeret.” p. 193.

“ IV. Vox Pallii apud Latinitatis autores vestem illam longam significat, quæ aliis indumentis ita imponitur, ut subinde assumatur, cum prodeundum in publicum ; deponatur quando quisque domi apud se est.

Fuit certe usus ante annum 336. quo anno Marcus Papa Ostiensi Episcopo permisit pallium gerere, tunc cum Electum a Clero Romano in summum Pontificem, more majorum, ordinaret.” p. 194.

“ XV. Primis temporibus, cum Pallium per literas a Pontificibus mitteretur, literæ continebant non tantum exhortationem ad vitam sanctius instituendam, munusque pastorale digne vicaria potestate implendam, sed etiam aliquando mandata de extirpandis hæresibus, zizaniisque in agro Ecclesiæ succrescentibus. *Verum de peculiari obedientia subjectioneque nullus hinc erat sermo ;* fuit posteriore ætate, si non semper, saltem ut plurimum. Id quod dixi de primis temporibus constat ex epistolis Symmachi, Pelagiique II. et S. Gregorii, atque etiam ex formulis Diurni.” p. 195.

“ XVII. Quoniam vero sexto septimoque sæculo mittebatur Pallium episcopis etiam extra Imperii ditionem positis, factum est, ut quo tempore summi Pontifices pene servirent sub exarchis, imperatoribusque, eoque suspiciores forent exarchi ac im-

peratores, quod vix Romæ dominatum retinerent adversus invadentes aliarum gentium reges: factum, inquam, est, ut Pontifices, cum Pallium mitterent, consensum Imperatoris expeterent; ne ea de causa oriretur suspicio affectati aliunde præsidii." p. 195.

"XXVI. Existimo pariter, imo certus sum, non solum metropolitanis concessum esse, sed inferioribus etiam episcopis." p. 198.

"XXIX. Par est credere, prioribus temporibus, datum esse solis occidentalibus a Pontifice: nullum enim reperitur exemplum dati orientalibus, ante constitutos in oriente patriarchas Latinos." p. 199.

"Optabant sane olim summi Pontifices ut omnes metropolitani, qui ad eorum patriarchatum pertinebant, aliquod confirmationis genus a sede apostolica acciperent. *Verum quia ubique receptum erat consecrationes fieri posse extra Italiam absque eorum consensu*, vim ei legi palam adferre noluerunt; sed metropolitanos rei cujusdam novæ miraculo velut obstupescerunt; quæ in initio magnifica, paulatim tamen antiquam eorum libertatem per cuniculos infregit, et synodorum provincialium auctoritatem pessumdedit. De Pallii usu loquor, cujus origo cum sit satis vetusta, effectus tamen ejus, et cætera quæ nunc usurpantur, antiquitati prorsus ignota fuere. Quippe Galliarum metropolitani, statim post ordinationem suam, exercebant functiones sui muneris, juxta canones antiquos. At jus novum eos prohibet quicquam pontificalis officii attingere donec a sede apostolica missum ad eos fuerit Pallium, de corpore beati Petri sumptum." (Pet. De Marca, Archiep. Paris. de Concordia Sacerdotii et Imperii. Paris. 1669. tom. ii. p. 192.) Upon this passage it may be remarked, that the learned Archbishop of

Paris appears to include the whole West in the Roman patriarchate. Such an assumption, however, is notoriously untenable. He likewise applies the term *apostolical* to the Roman see, as if it possessed an exclusive right to it. In another place, however, he informs us, that in ancient, and therefore correct phraseology, that term belongs to *all* metropolitans. “*Cum episcopus civitatis, inquit Alcuinus, fuerit defunctus, eligitur alius a clero seu populo; fitque decretum ab illis, et veniunt ad APOSTOLICUM cum suo electo deferente secum suggestionem, hoc est, rogatorias literas, ut eis consecret episcopum. Ceterum hic observandus est modus loquendi illarum tempestatum, quibus licebat metropolitano tribuere titulum Apostolici; cujus moris initia referenda sunt ad tempora Gregorii Turonensis. Sequens ætas abstinuit ab alla simplicitate; et deinceps Apostolici titulus soli Romano Pontifici tributus est ab auctoribus.*” Ibid. 181.

¹⁷ It is notorious, that not even the Archbishop of Milan, much less metropolitans of transalpine regions, depended anciently upon the Roman see. “VII. Ambrosii sane Mediolanensis Episcopi electio et confirmatio, quæ facta est a synodo totius Italiæ decreto Imperatoris Valentiniani coacta, evincit nihil juris per illas tempestates Romano Pontifici competitivisse in ordinatione Metropolitani Mediolanensis: a qua manus abstinuit per multum ævi, sero usurpata ejus ordinatione.” “VIII. At provinciæ quæ extra Italiam erant, metropolitanos haud dubie suos ordinabant, absque auctoritate Episcopi Romani, et absque consensu ejus.” (Ibid. 188.) As for the confirmations which metropolitans anciently sought from the Roman see, they were nothing

more than announcements of their several consecrations, and confessions of their faith. On receiving these, and being satisfied with their correctness and orthodoxy, the bishop of the capital, that is, of Rome, admitted the parties respectively into communion with his church. The Roman bishop himself sent similar credentials to the other patriarchs, as vouchers for his own claims to communion with them. “Quod ad Patriarchas attinet; responderi potest confirmationem illam non esse signum jurisdictionis, sed tantum susceptionis in communionem, et testimonium quo constabat summum Pontificem consentire consecrationi jam peractæ.—Quippe usu receptum erat, per illas tempestates, ut Patriarchæ, *et ipse etiam Romanus Pontifex*, recens electus, literas de sua ordinatione mitterent; quibus addebatur professio fidei, in synodicis eorum epistolis conscripta.” Ibid. 191.

¹⁸ The laws of Ina, Alfred, Guthrum, and Canute, regulated the administration of the sacraments. Alfred asserted a right to dispense with the marriage of nuns. Earlier sovereigns divided old and erected new bishoprics; a privilege expressly reserved, according to Bellarmine, to the Roman see. All the Saxon princes appear to have regulated episcopal appointments, to have summoned councils, and to have presided in these assemblies, as often as occasion called. (See Twissden’s *Historical Vindication of the Church of England*, ch. v. p. 95. *Sax. Chr.* pp. 58. 67. 78. 189. 224. *Hist. Ref.* i. 283. note; iv. 628. note.) The following are Edward the Confessor’s words: “*Rex autem qui vicarius summi regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut terrenum regnum, et populum*

Domini, et super omnia sanctam veneretur ecclesiam ejus, et regat." Ll. Eccl. S. Edw. R. et Conf. c. 15. Spelman, 622. Labb. et Coss. ix. 1023.

¹⁹ "Many now are God's houses, but nevertheless (they are) one, on account of the unity of the true faith." (Whelock's Bede, 380.) The whole homily, apparently, which is for the dedication of a church, has been printed in this place, and it contains many passages unfavourable to modern Romish representations of catholic unity. The entire tenour of it, in fact, is at variance with such representations. In unison with its language is the following clause, in the third canon of the council of Celichyth. "*Ideo sicut conjuncti sumus in uno Spiritu per fidem et dilectionem, ita condecet actus nostros atque verba sine simulatione servare in timore et amore Dei omnipotentis, atque diligenter pro invicem orare.*" Spelman, 328.

²⁰ The first solemn declaration of the Anglo-Saxon Church respecting the faith, appears to have been made at the council of Hatfield, holden in 680, and in which Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, presided. This council being desirous to preserve England from the taint of Monothelitism, received, in addition to the decrees of the first four general councils, those of the second council of Constantinople, the Epistles of Ibas, and the decrees of a synod, holden at Rome, under pope Martin. That all these councils, and other authorities, were considered as expositors of one series of doctrines, that, namely of the proto-Nicene Fathers, appears reasonably to be inferred from the first canon of the council of Calcuith, which enjoins all clerical persons to hold the Nicene faith faithfully

and firmly, and directs annual examinations of them in the principles of this faith. The same council of Calcuith sanctioned another council called general, the third of Constantinople, namely, holden in 680, enjoining the English clergy to confess, hold, and teach the faith of these six councils. The council of Finchale, however, appears to have taken no notice of the third council of Constantinople, receiving only the first five general councils. But the last of these, although thus acknowledged at intervals, never attained the distinction of its four predecessors. Ælfric, accordingly, using the language of Gregory the Great, says, “These four synods are to be holden, in Christ’s congregation, like the four books of Christ.” (Epist. ad Wulf. Ep. Spelman, 581.) The ancient pontifical, heretofore cited, (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Tiberius, C. 1. f. 148.) after mentioning the first four general councils, proceeds, “*Hæ sunt ut prædiximus, quatuor principales et venerabiles synodi tam apostolicam quam catholicam fidem complectentes. Sed si qua sunt concilia, quæ sancti patres Spiritu Dei pleni sanxerunt, post illorum quatuor auctoritatem, omni manent stabilita vigore.*” Hence it appears clearly enough, that when Anglo-Saxon divines spoke of the catholic and apostolic faith, they meant those principles of religious belief which were defined in the first four general councils.

²¹ “Very few were they, (says Alfred,) on this side the Humber (the most improved parts of England) who could understand their daily prayers in English, or translate any letter from the Latin. I think there were not many beyond the Humber: they were so few, that I, indeed, cannot recollect

one single instance south of the Thames when I took the kingdom.” (Turner’s Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, Lond. 1828. ii. 9.) Alfred’s original Saxon is to be seen at the bottom of the page.

²² The following is an imaginary speech, assigned to the book itself, which occurs in the preface to king Alfred’s Saxon translation of pope Gregory’s Pastoral. *Ʒe hīƷ ƷƷiteƷum Ʒende Ʒuð 7 noƷð. ƷoƷðam þe he heƷ him ƷƷileƷa ma bƷenƷan be þæƷe bƷyrne. þ he hīƷ biƷcopum Ʒendan meahƷe. ƷoƷðam hī hīƷ Ʒume beƷoƷƷtan Ʒa þe leðen ƷƷnæce læƷte cuðon.* *Me to his writers* (the king) *sent, south and north, for he had commanded them to bring more such, according to that pattern: that he to his bishops might send* (them;) *because they were needful to some of his bishops who least understood the Latin speech.* (Bibl. Publ. Cant. Ii. 2—4. p. 5.) Thus it appears that some of the English episcopal order, in king Alfred’s time, were scarcely equal to the reading of Gregory’s Pastoral in the original.

²³ “ And we appoint, that each Christian man learn, at least that he be able to understand rightly the *Belief*, and learn *Pater Noster* and *Credo*; because with the one shall each Christian man make his prayer to God, and with the other make confession of the right belief. Christ himself first sang *Pater Noster*, and taught that prayer to his disciples. And in that holy prayer are seven petitions. With it whosoever singeth inwardly, (i. e. from his heart,) he applieth to God himself upon every necessity with which a man is urged, either for this life or for that which is to come. But how then may ever any man inwardly (heartily) betake himself in prayer to God, unless he have inwardly (in

his heart) a right belief in God? Because he has no right, after his departure, to Christian fellowship with the saints in rest; nor here, in this life, to be worthy of the Sacrament. Nor is he well (reputed) a Christian, that will not learn them. Nor has he any right to undertake (stand godfather) for any other man at Baptism, much less at the bishop's hand, (Confirmation,) before he has learned it so well, that he has it perfect." (22nd law of king Canute. Mrs. Elstob's Transl. Pref. xxxv. Spelman, 549.) The Lord's Prayer, with the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and sundry prayers for ordinary use, in Saxon and Latin, may be seen in Whelock's Bede, (p. 495. et seq.) Hence Mrs. Elstob has extracted the Lord's Prayer, and the two Creeds, in her preface to the Saxon Homily, (p. xxxii et seq.) Services for the canonical hours, in Saxon and English, may be seen in the Appendix to Dr. Hickes's *Letters to a Popish Priest*, Lond. 1705. The Athanasian Creed, and some of the hymns, are to be found in MS. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton, Vespasian, A. 1.) in a most magnificent MS. Psalter, in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge, and in other MSS.

²⁴ "The mass-priest shall tell, on Sundays, and on mass-days, the meaning of the Gospel, in English, to the folk, and also concerning the *Pater Noster*, and the *Credo*, as often as he can." Ælfric to Wulfine. Spelman, 578.

²⁵ Ða ic gemunde hu reo lara leden geðeoder ær þýrum afeallen þær geond angel cýn. ⁊ þeah man-eza cuðon englisc gepwita apædan. Bibl. Publ. Cant. li. 2—4. p. 3.) *Then I considered how the learning of the Latin language ere this was fallen away*

through the English nation: and yet many could read English writing. For the information of these *many*, however, books do not appear to have been seriously wanting, but only books in the vernacular tongue. The king, accordingly, says, *ƿriðe lýtle ƿeopme þaƿa boca ƿiʀton· ƿoʀðam þe hi hiƿa nan þiŋ onʒitan ne mihton· ƿoʀðam þe hi næpon on hiƿa aʒen ʒeþeode aƿritene·* (Ibid. p. 2.) *Very little knew (they) the use of these books; because they could understand no one thing of them; because they were not written in their own language.*

²⁶ “ Interrogatio Augustini.

Cum sit una fides, sunt ecclesiarum diversæ consuetudines, et altera consuetudo missarum in sancta Romana Ecclesia, atque altera in Galliarum tene-
tur.

Respondit Gregorius Papa.

Novit fraternitas tua Romanæ ecclesiæ consuetudinem, in qua se meminit nutritam. *Sed mihi placet, ut sive in Romana, sive in Galliarum, seu in qualibet Ecclesia, aliquid invenisti quod plus omnipotenti Deo possit placere, sollicite eligas, et in Anglorum Ecclesia, quæ adhuc ad fidem nova est, institutione præcipua, quæ de multis Ecclesiis colligere potuisti, infundas.* Non enim pro locis res, sed pro bonis rebus loca amanda sunt. Ex singulis ergo quibusque Ecclesiis, quæ pia, quæ religiosa, quæ recta sunt, elige, et hæc quasi in fasciculum collecta, apud Anglorum mentes in consuetudinem depone.” Bed. Eccl. Hist. p. 81.



SERMON IV.

THE INVOCATION OF ANGELIC AND DEPARTED SPIRITS.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

CHRISTIANS, mercifully called to the peaceful profession of their holy religion, cannot adequately conceive the sacrifices exacted from their brethren by less happy times. The distant picture of individual struggles, agonizing undoubtedly, but necessarily brief, and leading to “an eternal weight of glory^a,” fills the mind with admiration, rather than with sympathy. Attention fixes upon little more than transcendent services to the best of causes, heroic self-devotion, unfailing faith, and a triumphant entrance into the more distinguished of those blissful mansions which our heavenly Father’s everlasting house affords. Contemporaries, however, witnessed the yearnings of a spirit,

^a 2 Cor. iv. 17.

abruptly and violently torn from domestic ties. They keenly felt, because they saw, the cruelty of blighting every hope which industry and foresight had encouraged. They shared in the martyr's physical recoil, on the nearer approaches of his distressing fate. Their own spirits were saddened and subdued by that intensity of suffering which threw a stern and frightful gloom around his escape from human life. Daily observation taught them also the real value of advantages thus dearly purchased for the Church of Christ. It impressed upon them, too, the surpassing evils of that pusillanimity, or wavering faith, which induced so many to count life, or even worldly ease, above a steadfast avowal of allegiance to a crucified Saviour. What serious mind, placed in personal contact, as it were, with such varied sources of absorbing interest, could fail of imbibing the highest veneration for those brethren who nobly persevered? How reasonably then, and naturally, no less than politicly, did the primitive Church embalm the memories of her martyred worthies by annual solemnities at their tombs! She could not, indeed, animate and confirm, in any manner more effectually, the faith of her existing children, than by pressing upon their minds the services of

those who had contentedly shed their blood, rather than deny their Saviour.

Nor did the use of such appeals to the best feelings of mankind wear away with times of persecution. The faith of Christ, although no longer menaced by fierce intolerance, did not easily overspread the nations to which it was announced. Men might hear with gladness the message of salvation, but they quickly found that the name of Jesus made no slight demands upon them. Everywhere, deeply-rooted interests and prejudices vigorously struggled against that overthrow which they must inevitably experience from the new religion. Hence great exertions were constantly required, to confirm a rising purpose of defying worldly calculations at the foot of the cross. What was likely to prove more effectual for such an end, than to fill men's imaginations with pictures of sufferings undergone in ages past, by those who willingly endured "the loss of all things, that they might win Christ^b?" What missionary to a heathen race, what minister of the Gospel in a nation half reclaimed, must not often have seen occasion for painting to his hearers that "noble army of martyrs," whose blood has aptly been esteemed "the seed of the Church?"

^b Phil iii. 8.

It was naturally to be expected, that imaginations fired by such pictures of departed excellence should anxiously desire an interest in the prayers of those who had gone so triumphantly to their everlasting reward. Care was however taken, by early masters in theology, to prevent such a desire from leading to superstitious usages and unauthorized opinions. St. Austin accordingly teaches that the office of mediation between God and man is necessarily confined to a Being at once divine and human¹; in other words, that Jesus Christ alone “ever liveth to make intercession for us.”

This interpretation of the text, “there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus,” was adopted by the venerable Bede². It was therefore a tradition of our ancient Church, that through their blessed Saviour only, men were to sue for blessings from their heavenly Father. Our distant ancestry, like other ancient professors of the Gospel, were indeed encouraged to bear “the reproach of Christ^c” by commemorations of the mighty dead. But they were warned against a disposition to bestow upon these sainted worthies honours which are due to God alone. Every such feeling was plainly

^c Heb. xi. 26.

treated as the result of diabolical craft and malice. Hence a homilist rebukes it in the very words addressed by Jesus to the tempter, "Get thee hence, Satan." And men were taught expressly, that to the great Creator only should rise at any time the voice of prayer. All works of his almighty hands, however excellent, were declared unworthy of receiving addresses from below. Nay more: it was even represented, that were mortal supplications to reach the ears of those purified intelligences who fill the mansions of the blest, they would anxiously refuse the proffered homage. Like St. John's angelic monitor, they would thus correct the suppliant's mistaken piety: "Do it not: bow not thyself to me. I am God's servant, and thy brother. Pray to God only³."

Our forefathers were, notwithstanding, trained in a belief, that the happy spirits now resting from their earthly trials entertain a lively interest for mankind. The Church triumphant was considered as sympathising completely with the Church militant. In the saints accordingly was discerned a band of unceasing suppliants in behalf of suffering mortals. Nor was it esteemed objectionable to petition the great Father of mercies, that, among the consolations of his faithful people,

should never fail earnest entreaties for their welfare, from the disembodied followers of Jesus⁴. Addresses of this kind to the footstool of Omnipotence were not restricted to the general company of “the spirits of just men made perfect^d.” Particular names were inserted in the commemorative offices of piety⁵, imploring Him, to whom alone men can look for help and safety, that these honoured members of Christ’s invisible kingdom might aid the suits of struggling mortals by their own more powerful suffrages. Thus, not only was it entreated of God and Christ, that all the choir of angels, patriarchs, prophets, and apostles might pray for the suplicants, but also, that St. Peter, St. Paul, and other saints, might likewise render them this assistance. That the Anglo-Saxon Church exhibited no sound discretion, in giving this kind of honourable prominence to departed worth, is proved by the direct addresses introduced eventually into litanies⁶. As presented in her earlier offices, at least, the practice, however, was evidently controlled by Scripture. What is called the invocation of saints appears not in these venerable formularies. Saints are, indeed, abundantly commemorated in them; but God alone is ever addressed.

^d Heb. xii. 23.

In honour of St. Oswin, for instance, no less than ten different prayers have been transcribed among materials for the present undertaking, being all that his offices contain. In no one of these occurs a call upon him⁷. A similar principle evidently guided the compilers of the Saxon homilies for festivals. None of these, probably, as originally composed, afforded even the slightest mention of invoking the saint commemorated. Men are merely admonished in them, to beseech God, that they may be strengthened by the prayers of that venerated spirit⁸. All our earlier theologians appear, therefore, to “have stood fast, and holden the traditions” which Bede and Austin taught them. Evidently they never forgot that holy Scripture mentions no other “mediator between God and men, than the man Christ Jesus^e.” Nor, probably, would they have omitted to urge against invocation of the dead, that such a practice would amount to a call upon those, of whose power to *hear* even, man has not the least assurance.

Among inhabitants of God’s unseen kingdom, it was natural that the Virgin Mary should occupy the largest space in religious minds. Nor could the prevailing anxiety for saintly intercession fail of leading to a gene-

^e 1 Tim. ii. 5.

ral desire, that this holy personage, so “highly favoured, so blessed among women^f,” should unite her prayers with those ascending from the world. For this benefit and satisfaction, accordingly, habitual importunities were offered to the great Jehovah. But in Mary’s case, as in that of all the departed spirits, “through faith and patience now inheriting the promises^g,” any example of direct invocation would probably be vainly sought among the most ancient monuments of English theology.

Yet the blessed Virgin was esteemed among our distant ancestry far more highly than any other member of the great human family. For placing her claims to gratitude and veneration in the most striking point of view, a comparison was instituted between her and Eve. The great progenetrix of mankind, it was observed, had unhappily afforded occasion for closing the gates of heaven against her posterity. Mary’s inconceivably better fortune had rendered her an instrument for the reparation of this mighty mischief. Through the everlasting Son, who deigned to veil his Godhead under a corporeal frame derived from her, the fallen race of Adam was again allowed to hope for entrance into

^f St. Luke i. 28.

^g Heb. vi. 12.

their heavenly Father's glorious and blissful kingdom¹⁰. Hence to Mary was esteemed justly due the highest strains of respectful commemoration ; and she was ordinarily designated, in language long indeed established, yet certainly of doubtful propriety, as the mother of God. In thus, however, honouring the most venerable among women, Anglo-Saxon divines aimed professedly at the honour of God. It was not to any created being, it was to Him who spared not his beloved Son, it was to Him also, who, "to deliver man, disdained not the Virgin's womb," to whom praise and glory were avowedly offered, in celebrating the high distinction of her who gave Emmanuel birth¹¹.

Curiosity was naturally on the watch for particulars respecting the personal history of one so prominent in the Church of Christ. Current traditions, accordingly, as to the blessed Virgin, appear to have been generally received in Anglo-Saxon times. It was believed that she bore the Saviour when sixteen, and having lived with him three and thirty years, that she survived his crucifixion sixteen more ; thus dying at the age of sixty-three¹². Her perpetual virginity was likewise maintained, but her immaculate conception was denied. When "the Holy Ghost

came upon her, and the power of the Highest overshadowed her^h," it was taught, that she was cleansed from every taint of sin¹³. In unison with this wise and becoming abstinence from thinking of any creature "above that which is writtenⁱ," was the silence of our early divines respecting the blessed Virgin's parents. These were merely described as religious observers of the Mosaic law, but an expressed anxiety to be free from the charge of giving currency to erroneous relations restrains the homilist from enlarging upon their history¹⁴. Equally cautious were the fathers of our national theology respecting Mary's actual condition. Pilgrimages to Palestine had, probably, rendered it notorious throughout the west, that in a tomb shewn as hers the corpse would now be sought in vain. The superstitious were hence anxious to conclude, that the frame once so highly favoured had been translated to the regions of eternal blessedness. Nor do marvellous accounts, harmonizing with this conclusion, appear to have been wanting. The plain good sense and sound theological discretion of our ancient homilist would not, however, allow him, zealous as he was for the Virgin's honour, to repeat any such legendary tales.

^h St. Luke i. 35.

ⁱ 1 Cor. iv. 6.

Holy Scripture, he wisely says, affords them not the least encouragement. If men, therefore, aid in their circulation, their conduct is like that of heretics who fain would give to dreams and fictions the authority of truth¹⁵.

Such reserve extended, however, only to Mary's history. Mere eulogy upon her was allowed a dangerous license. She was styled *Lady*, as being the mother of him who is Lord of all things; *Queen*, as coming of a princely lineage; *Star of the sea*, as having brought into the world the pole-star of a course toward heaven¹⁶. An anxious wish to connect Mary's name with every distinction earned within the Church of Christ, led also to a claim for her of more than the glory of martyrdom. The sufferings, it was observed, of those who had contentedly poured out the vital stream in testimony to their holy faith were merely physical. But when Mary stood before the cross, crimsoned from the wounds of her beloved and ever-blessed Son, her agonies of mind exceeded infinitely any that ever racked the dying martyr's tortured frame. If intensity of anguish, therefore, affect estimates of eminence among the faithful, who shall challenge so high a place as our Lord's earthly mother¹⁷? To the world of spirits, accordingly, was attributed a full acknow-

ledgment of this unapproachable superiority. When released from human life, Mary is painted as appearing amidst this holy company, welcome as the rising dawn, fairer than the moon, graceful above the sun, more majestic than the embattled host¹⁸. An apostrophe¹⁹ similarly rhetorical, occurs in a discourse commemorating the whole company of heaven. "O thou blessed mother of God," rapturously exclaims the homilist, "Mary ever virgin, temple of the Holy Ghost, virgin *before* conception, virgin *in* conception, virgin *after* conception; great is thy glory among the ransomed of the Lord^k."

Of such embellishments the Fathers have undoubtedly supplied examples. To veil, however, the majestic simplicity of heavenly truth under the tinsel ornaments of a meretricious eloquence, is to lay a snare before undiscerning minds. It is, therefore, greatly to be lamented, that the spiritual guides of ancient England imitated those flights of a licentious fancy which are among the conspicuous blemishes of their models. In yielding to such temptations, they naturalized eventually among their countrymen usages and principles unknown originally to the na-

^k Wheloc. in Bed. p. 313. ex Hom. Angl. Sax. in Natali Omn. SS.

tional Church. She had “stood fast, and holden” inviolably, during the whole course of her earlier existence, that obviously rational “tradition” of holy Scripture, and of primitive antiquity, which restricts invocation to the Deity. But the tenth century came, pregnant with political convulsion, and overspread all but impenetrably with intellectual darkness, and her face was changed²⁰. Her monuments, posterior to the commencement of that unhappy age, exhibit instances of a departure from that wary spirit which had guided her divines in more auspicious periods. A practice had surreptitiously grown up, which tacitly invests the blessed Virgin with omniscience. Rhetorical apostrophe, accordingly, and prayers to God for the aid of Mary’s intercession, contented no longer the generations immediately preceding the Norman Conquest. Individuals acquired an unauthorized habit of invoking directly our blessed Lord’s mother after the flesh, urging her to press their several suits on high. Nor did masters in theology repress this innovation. On the contrary, exhortations appended occasionally to homilies for festivals, encouraged and incited the superstitious populace thus to forsake the tradition of their fathers²¹.

This unhappy departure from ancient

usages and scriptural principles quickly extended to all the more illustrious members of our great Creator's unseen kingdom. Individuals, in their private devotions, appear to have led the way in calling upon the saintly dead²². Metrical hymns also, containing such invocations, might seem to have been introduced among the public offices of piety. Such, at least, occur in an ancient service-book already mentioned, of which the prosaic portions exhibit no instance of this unauthorized usage²³. In such cases it may therefore, perhaps, not unfairly be presumed, that the prayers and hymns are by no means identical in age. Our Ante-Norman Church, indeed, accurately speaking, may never have distinctly sanctioned saintly invocation. Her liturgical remains, imperfect and scanty as they are, and often mutilated also, undoubtedly afford that practice but very slight encouragement²⁴. Among her formularies occur very rarely any deviations from the former usage, of commemorating by name the departed pillars of our holy faith, and of breathing a pious wish to God that their prayers might swell the mass of earthly supplication. Individuals, therefore, probably, must be considered as responsible, rather than their spiritual nursing-mother, for those instances of invoking intelligences, inferior

to the Deity, which occur among the later monuments of Anglo-Saxon theology. This habit, once established in the land, led men, however, onwards to the practice of confessing sins to saints²⁵. Nor were angels overlooked among the created beings to whom our later Saxon fathers addressed in their devotions. Upon supplications, in aid of her own, from these mysterious ministers of Omnipotence, no less than from the saints, our ancient Church had been used to pray that she might calculate²⁶. But a wise and becoming caution had forbidden her masters in theology to speculate upon their nature²⁷. Unhappily, however, Englishmen ceased at length to “hold the tradition,” at least in its full integrity, which had restricted the religious addresses of their fathers to the throne of grace alone. To angels, accordingly, did the voice of prayer and penitence eventually appeal, no less than to other venerated members of the invisible creation. God’s omniscience was thus indefinitely as well as unwarrantably attributed to his creatures; and he who “ever liveth to make intercession for us¹” was in danger of being half-forgotten amidst a crowd of spirits, invested with a

¹ Heb. vii. 25.

mediatorial character, upon authority merely human.

Akin with this infringement of ancient usages, and probably anterior to it, was another change adopted in the Anglo-Saxon Church. In ordinary course, the places which had known those discerning, scriptural, and spirited divines, who rejected contemptuously the Deutero-Nicene decrees, “knew them no more^m.” A new race arose, with principles undermined by a long continuance of deferential amity with Rome; and, alas! it forgot the traditions, unquestionably divine, which deny adoration of any kind to the works of human hands. It is neither accurately known by what insidious means this palpable, this grievous innovation won its way, nor what height it gained²⁸. But it is, unhappily, undeniable, that within a century of the once-reprobated Bithynian council our national divines had ceased to look upon the worship of substantial forms as an usage “altogether execrated by the Church of God.” They paid religious honours to the cross; they paid them to graven images; they paid them to real or imaginary remains of sainted mortals. Of this departure from the tradition of their fathers the humiliating consequence

^m Psalm ciii. 16.

was an act at once cowardly and sacrilegious. Let a truncated Decalogue ignominiously attest the altered face of our ancient Church. Let it paint with vivid, mournful force of colouring the unwillingness of her divines to meet the charge of ceasing “to divide rightly the word of truthⁿ.” They never forgot, indeed, to impress upon the memories of the people those commandments by which Almighty God, amidst Sinai’s awful thunders, taught men their duties to each other. Nor did they pretermitt a corresponding care as to four of those injunctions which fingers more than human inscribed upon the first table. But with grief and shame it must be added, they ventured to curtail the heavenly code. They “shunned,” as well they might, “to declare all the counsel of God^o ;” inexcusably withholding the command against adoring created substances. This rebuked their infirmity of purpose. This tended to shake popular confidence in their decisions. How could they meet a general acquaintance with it? In order to fill the place thus dishonestly, nay, rather even impiously, left void, ordinarily the tenth commandment was divided into two³⁰. Sometimes, however, the preamble

ⁿ 2 Tim. ii. 15.

^o Acts xx. 27.

to the whole two tables appears to have been esteemed sufficient for lulling popular suspicions of incompleteness³¹.

Deeply mortifying it is to know, that Alfred's illustrious name stands forth among authorities for this unholy dealing with the word of God. By way of introduction to his laws, we find what purports to be the Decalogue. The third commandment fills, however, the second place. Thus far, unhappily, our wise and patriotic king gratified those Roman friends to whom early predilections and obligations bound him³². But he could not face, it seems, a total forfeiture of self-approbation. He found himself, one may imagine reasonably, unable to forget that there were and *would* be those in whose valuable good opinion this disingenuous act was likely to do him a serious injury. The concluding command, accordingly, by which he completes the number ten, is this; "Thou shalt not make any golden or silver gods³³." Alfred surely doubted when he presented to his people such a version of God's general claims upon their obedience. How much must it be lamented, then, that his conscience did not whisper to him this apostolic admonition; "Whatsoever is not of faith is sin^p." In this

great and excellent man's example, who may not find instruction? Do not such instances of human frailty forcibly remind every one among us, that great diligence and vigilance are urgently required in "running the race that is set before us^q?" "Let him," therefore, "who thinketh he standeth take heed lest he fall^r." To every rising of man's vain and treacherous confidence, let another of St. Paul's repressive admonitions be applied; "Be not high-minded, but fear^s."

In learning these departures of our distant ancestry from the traditions of an earlier age, regret must naturally overspread our minds. The facts, however, belong rather to ecclesiastical history, than to pure theology. What, if a mutilated Decalogue proclaim with trumpet-tongue that the ninth century saw image-worship established in our island; if there be sufficient evidence to prove, that invocation of departed and angelic spirits was adopted by an age still later; will it follow, hence, that these usages can claim the traditional attestation of our ancient Church? Must it not be shewn by those who fain would thus confirm them that their establishment among us was coeval with the Christianity of our Saxon fathers? Until this object is effected,

^q Heb. xii. 1. ^r 1 Cor. x. 12. ^s Rom. xi. 20.

the traditional chain, presented to our view, is deficient in all its earlier links : deficient, then, in all those members which alone can give it any value or importance. Advocates, however, for image-worship, and the invocation of angelic and departed spirits, will vainly seek to connect these practices with Augustine and his immediate successors. Enquiries, indeed, with such an object, are discouraged, upon the very threshold, by historical relations, by liturgical formularies, and by the general course of documentary evidence. Opponents are thus enabled to allege, with perfect safety, “ From the beginning it was not so ^t” among us³³. The earliest Christians of our race were unquestionably “ taught no such traditions.” That their posterity “ stood not fast,” but gradually receded from doctrines and usages holden and observed by their fathers, is, indeed, just cause of mortification. Such a fact, however, is utterly worthless for the purposes of those who would recommend idolatry, and invocation of invisible created intelligences, as divine or apostolical traditions.

But since these usages may be convicted of palpable innovation, it may be enquired, why did they ever find reception in the Church of

^t St. Matthew xix. 8.

ancient England? Consider the constitution of society during the first Christian millenary, and this question is resolved at once. What is the religious use of images, but a practice alike endeared by custom immemorial to the polished nations of classical antiquity, and to the rude barbarians, under whose assaults their institutions were eventually overthrown? and what is the invocation of unseen created beings, but the great principle of Gentile superstition? Heathen illiteracy *might*, and no doubt *did*, attribute to the ordinary objects of worship a character essentially divine. But Polytheists of superior information have ever viewed their various deities as nothing more than the most honoured among emanations from the great Supreme. Hence, when “the sound” of the gospel “went into all the earth^u,” it fell every where upon the ears of those who had been trained in habits of adoring visible objects, and of invoking mediators, of acknowledged inferiority to the mighty, but neglected, and therefore “unknown God.” Did even a “Paul plant and an Apollos water^w?” habits of such inveteracy—habits, beside, so fascinating to the nature of fallen man, would rarely fail of exhibiting an extreme tenacity. They *did*,

^u Rom. x. 18.

^w 1 Cor. iii. 6.

in fact, long defy every effort even for their *apparent* extirpation. Ages rolled away after Constantine's conversion, and yet Paganism lurked throughout that magnificent inheritance which had owned obedience to the Cæsars. It is true indeed that hordes of idolatrous invaders had in the mean time trampled on the Roman eagle, in most of the regions which long had crouched submissively before it. But these barbarian victors altered not materially the religious face of Europe. Nationally, they were not slow in professing the faith of Christ. They did not, however, any more than the nations which they had conquered, abandon completely, and at once, the prejudices and habits of their ancient superstition. Undisguised heathenism, on the contrary, maintained for centuries a vigorous hold upon the more obscure portions of their several communities³⁵. Probably, too, an affection for its principles lingered long in the breasts of many by whom its name would have been indignantly disclaimed.

That pagan prejudices and habits defiled our native country during very many years after its conversion to the faith of Christ, is attested by existing records³⁶. Nor is probable inference our only reason for concluding that hence usages of Gentile mould were engrafted

upon the Gospel. A Saxon homily rebukes the wretched spirit of popular credulity, which urged affliction to seek relief in places consecrated by heathen superstition. But then it also recommends that sufferers transfer such visits to churches, crucifixes, and the reliques of Christian saints³⁷. From supplications thus addressed to heaven, real benefits, it is represented, may be reasonably expected. Whereas religious honours offered to the false gods of heathenism are likely to provoke a heavier portion of that indignation from above, which the sufferer sought to deprecate. By such expedients it was hoped men would be weaned gradually, and almost imperceptibly, from those practices and prepossessions, to which they seemed incurably addicted. Their inveterate partialities, they were taught, did not so much need eradication, as the gentler process of direction, into a new, and truly advantageous channel. No doubt such policy lightened the labours of God's appointed ministers. No doubt, it also hastened the time when Englishmen of every station openly professed the faith of Jesus. Nor can it be denied, that even those who made the smallest sacrifices of deeply rooted prejudices in this transition from hereditary errors were infinitely gainers by the change. But not-

withstanding, there was a dangerous compromise here. Men whose affections were *thus* won over to the Gospel parted with a shadow, rather than a substance.

How plausibly, however, might a spirit of conceding nothing from the principles of earlier divines have been resisted, under the plea of its unfitness for existing circumstances ! It might have been argued, that these fountains of national theology, however excellent, had failed of conciliating completely popular affection. Hence the lingering hold of Paganism upon minds which less unbending courses would long have placed entirely above its fascinations. For the stealthy progress of such insidious arguments, the times proved eminently favourable. The tenth century, every where disastrous, was in few regions more so than in England. Scandinavian piracy, during a large portion of that miserable age, restrained our distant ancestry from all considerations, but those of providing security for person and property. Nor was it among the least unhappy consequences of these northern incursions, that they were incessantly directed to the plunder of monasteries. They thus at once diminished the national stock of intellectual treasures, and deprived contemplative minds of those retreats in which

they could securely and leisurely seek after truth. It can excite no surprise, that England thus harassed, thus overspread with unwonted darkness³⁸, gradually followed the Italian policy³⁹ of investing with a Christian character the more attractive features of exploded Gentilism.

Her monuments, however, (we have the gratification of reflecting,) fix immoveably upon this unhappy weakness the character of novelty. They distinctly mark the time when image-worship was repudiated with indignant contempt and strongly expressed abhorrence. They supply a copious and irresistible body of negative testimony against the invocation of angelic and departed spirits. If our ancient church admitted such an usage as a divine or apostolical tradition, whence arose her neglect of it in her offices and homilies? No such abstinence appears in religious formularies posterior to her overthrow. Her principles then, were not the same as those which eventually prevailed. The dark and disastrous times of Anglo-Saxon history *might*, indeed, and undoubtedly *did*, undermine the steadfastness of individuals. But their spiritual nursing mother seems hardly chargeable with such departures from the traditions of primitive antiquity. Her voice, fairly estimated

manifestly sanctioned appeals to Him alone, whose power to hear is unquestionable, and who has graciously pledged himself to grant the prayers of his faithful people in such a manner as “may be most expedient for them.”

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SERMON IV.

¹ “**DIVINITAS** sine humanitate non est mediatrix, humanitas sine divinitate non est mediatrix : sed inter divinitatem solam, et humanitatem solam, mediatrix est humana divinitas, et divina humanitas Christi.” S. Aurel. Aug. de Civ. Dei, lib. 9. cap. 15. Opp. edit. Benedict. tom. VII. col. 229.

² “ Si omnes homines, quamdiu mortales sunt, etiam miseri sint necesse est, quærendus est medius, qui non solum homo, verum etiam Deus sit, ut homines ex mortali miseria, ad beatam immortalitatem hujus medii beata mortalitas interveniendo perducatur, quem non fieri mortalem oportebat, neque permanere mortalem.” Expos. Div. Patris Augustini in 1 Ep. ad Tim. collecta a Ven. Bed. Presb. cap. 2. Opp. tom. VI. col. 976.

³ “ *Get thee behind me, Satan : it is written, Man shall worship his Lord, and him only shall he serve.* It is written in the old Law, that no man shall pray to any thing, but to God alone : because no creature is worthy of that honour ; but he alone who is the maker of all things. To him only we ought to pray. He only is very Lord and very God. We desire intercession of holy men, that they will intercede for us to their Lord and our

Lord. Nevertheless, we do not pray to them as we do to God, nor will they suffer it; as the angel said to John the Apostle, when he would have fallen at his feet: *Do it not, bow not thyself to me. I am God's servant, as thou art; pray to God only.*" Hom. Dom. 1. in Quadrag. Wheloc. in Bed. p. 283. Mrs. Elstob's Transl. Pref. p. xlv.

⁴ Ac uton biððan mid innepearðre heortan þone ælmihtigan pealdend· je þe ur mid mænizpealðre mæppunze ealre hir halgena nu to dæg geblissode· ꝥ he ur zetidiðze genihtsumnesse hir miltunze· þurh heopa mænizpealdan þingwædenum· ꝥ pe on ecepe geseihþe mid him blissian· swa swa pe nu mid hwilpendlicre þenunze hi purðiað. Si wuldor 7 lof hælendum cwipte· je þe is angin· 7 ende· 7 gecýpend· 7 alyfrend ealra halgena· mid fæder· 7 mid halgum gaste· áá on ecenesse. AMEN. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 24. Ex Hom. in Nat. Omn. SS. 219.) *But come, let us pray, with inward heart, the almighty Ruler, who us, with the manifold celebration of all his saints, now to-day has made us happy; that he would grant us the abundance of his mercy through their manifold intercession: that we may rejoice with them in the eternal vision; even as we now, with temporal service, honour them. Glory and praise be to Jesus Crist, who is the beginning, and end, and Creator, and Redeemer of all the saints; with the Father, and with the Holy Ghost; for ever and ever. Amen.*

⁵ Biððan je nu men þa untodeledlican þrynesse ꝥ pe mid þam benum þer halgsetan pepes sancte ceaddan jeon gefultumade· ꝥ pe geeapman ꝥ pe mazon becuman to þam gefefercipe haligra biscopra 7 eadigra gasta· forgifendum urum drih-

zene hælendum cƿiſte· ƿe leoƿað 7 ƿiſað mið þam
 ƿæðer· 7 mið þam haligan ƿarƿa· in eallre ƿopulða
 ƿopulð. **AMEN.** (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 24. Ex
 Hom. in Nat. S. Ceaddæ Ep. et Conf. f. 17.) *Pray*
we now men the indivisible Trinity, that we, with
the prayers of the most holy man, St. Chad, may
be assisted; that we may so act as to come to the
companionship of the holy bishop and happy spirit:
our Lord Jesus Crist forgiving (us, or granting
this), who liveth and reigneth with the Father, and
with the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

Uton nu biððan þone ƿealdendan hælend· ꝥ he
 þurh hƿ mæƿan ƿorƿýneles 7 ƿulluhteƿes þin-
 gunge up gemiltƿie on andƿearðum liƿe· 7 to þam
 ecan ƿelæde. Ðam ƿý ƿulðor 7 lof mið ƿæðer· 7
 mið halgum ƿarƿe à on eceneƿre. **AMEN.** (Ex
 Hom. in Nativ. S. Joh. Bapt. in eod. cod. f. 34.)
Come, now, pray (we) to the ruler Crist, that he,
through intercession of his great fore-runner and
baptiser, may have mercy upon us in the present
life, and may lead us to the eternal (one.) To
him be glory and praise, with the Father, and
with the Holy Ghost; for ever and ever. Amen.

Uton nu biððan þone ælmihtigan ƿealdend ꝥ hƿ
 eadiga apoſtol ure þingena beo ƿƿa ƿƿa he ƿunode
 hƿ ƿelapunge býðel. Ðý þam meðodon ðƿuhtne
 ƿýrðmýnt 7 lof· á on eceneƿre. **AM.** (Bibl. Publ.
 Cant. MSS. Gg. 3—28. Ex Hom. in Pass. S. Andr.
 Ap. p. 136.) *Come, now, pray (we) the almighty*
Ruler, that his blessed Apostle our intercessor be,
even as he lived a herald (beadle Sax.) of his con-
gregation. Be honour and praise to the Lord,
the Creator; for ever and ever. Am.

“ Deus, qui in tenebris Ecclesiæ, velut gemina-

tum lumen quo caveantur tenebræ, fecisti Petri lacrimas, Pauli literas choruscare; concede huic familiæ tuæ felicia dona suis indefessis petitionibus obtinere. Amen.” (Bibl. Publ. Cant. Pontificale. MS. Ee. 2. 3. f. 2.)

“ Omnipotens Deus, qui primitias martyrum in beati levitæ Stephani sanguine dedicasti; tribue, quæsumus, ut pro nobis intercessor existat, qui pro suis etiam persecutoribus exoravit Dominum.

Da nobis, Domine, quæsumus, beati Stephani prothomartyris intercessionem adjuvari; ut qui pro suis exoravit lapidatoribus, pro suis intercedere dignetur veneratoribus: per Dominum nostrum, Jesum Christum.

Deus, qui nobis beatissimorum Apostolorum, Petri et Pauli natalicia gloriosa præire concedis, tribue, quæsumus, eorum semper et beneficiis præveniri, et orationibus adjuvari: per Dominum nostrum.

Deus, mundi creator et rector, qui hunc diem in levitæ tui Laurentii, martyris, consecrasti, concede propitius, ut omnes qui martyrii ejus merita veneramus, ejus intercessionibus, ab æternæ gehennæ incendiis liberemur: per.” (Bibl. C. C. C. C. Pontif. Oswald. MS. CCCXCI.)

“ Accepta tibi sint, Domine, nostræ oblationis libamina, quibus intersint Sancti Cuthberti continua voti merita: per Dominum.” (Ibid. CLXXXIII. MS. Missa S. Cuthberti.) This is a MS. of high antiquity, the characters being Saxon, and it is in excellent preservation.

“ Concede, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut qui beati Johannis Baptistæ sollempnia colimus, ejus apud te intercessionibus muniamur.” (Bibl. Bodl.

MSS. Bodley. 579. f. 34.) This MS. is the celebrated liturgical book given to the Church of Exeter by Leofric, who died bishop of that see in 1073. The volume, which is, probably, much elder than the time of Leofric, is chiefly filled by the Sacramentary of Gregory the Great.

⁶ “ Kyrrie leyson.

Christe eleýson.

Domine miserere.

Christe miserere.

Miserere nobis, pie Rex, Domine Jesu Christe.

Christe audi nos.

Sancta Maria or.

Sancte Michael or.

Sancte Gabriel or.

Sancte Raphael or.

Omnis chorus angelorum oret pro nobis.

Sancte Johannes Baptista or.

Omnis chorus patriarcharum oret pro nobis.

Omnis chorus prophetarum oret pro nobis.

SANCTE PETRE OR.

Sancte Paule or.

Sancte Andrea or.

Omnis chorus Apostolorum oret pro nobis.

Sancte Stephane or.

Sancte Laurenti or.

Sancte Vincenti or.

Omnis chorus martirum oret pro nobis.

Sancte Benedicte.

Sancte Augustine.

Omnis chorus confessorum oret pro nobis.

Sancta Felicitas.

Sancta Lucia.

Sancta Tecla.

Omnis chorus virginum oret pro nobis.

Omnes sancti orate pro nobis.

Christe audi nos.

Ab inimicis nostris defende nos Christe.

Afflictionem nostram benignus vide.

Dolorem cordis nostri respice clemens.

Peccata populi tui pius indulge.

Orationem nostram exaudi Christe.

Hic et in perpetuum nos custodire digneris
Christe.

Fili Dei vive miserere nobis.

Exaudi nos Christe. Exaudi nos Christe.

Kyrie leyson.

Christe eleýson.

Domine miserere. Christe miserere.

Miserere nobis pie Rex, Domine Jesu Christe.

Christe audi nos."

(Bibl. Publ. Cant. Pontificale. MSS. Ll. 2—10.)

This beautiful, but imperfect MS. is referred by Nasmith to the thirteenth century. Among its contents may therefore be expected to occur instances of liturgical innovations. The practice of invoking saints had then been, for a considerable time, fully established, and of course it could hardly fail of appearing in litanies. Traces, however, of the more ancient usage are exhibited plainly enough by the litany printed above, in those general addresses, with *oret*, which rebuke, at intervals, the innovating spirit of the particular invocations. It is hence shewn that a time had been when liturgists doubted either the reason or the propriety, or both, of addressing prayers to members of God's invisible creation.

In the same MS. is another litany, in which,

after mentioning Michael, Gabriel, and Raphael, with an *or.* merely, we find “*Omnes sancti angeli et archangeli orate pro nobis.*” This is followed by “*Omnes sancti beatorum spirituum ordines orate pro nobis.*” There are also here these two additional clauses relating to the Virgin; namely, “*Sancta Dei genetrix or.—Sancta Virgo Virginum or.*” The number of saints likewise mentioned is much greater than in the litany given entire in this note. The Evangelists Luke and Mark appear after the Baptist and the Apostles, the disciples of our Lord, also the holy innocents, and the saints Stephen, Clement, Alexander, Laurence, Vincent, Dionisius, Maurice, Lucian, Eustachius, Gervase, Prothasius, Marcellinus, Peter, Silvestr, Martin, Augustine, Leo, Gregory, Just, Theodore, Dunstan, Romanus, Nicholas, Ieronimus, and Benedict. Then came the female saints, Mary Magdalene, Felicitas, Perpetua, Agatha, Agnes, Petronella, Lucia, Cecilia, Raddegundis, Batildis, and Eufemia.

In this volume is also a service for ordeals, which invokes no saints but only the Trinity.

A litany among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum, (Tiberius, A. 3.) invokes the following English saints, Augustine, Dunstan, Ælphege, Alban, Edmund, Edward, Swithin, Fursec, Cuthbert, Ætheldryd, and Mildryd.

⁷ “Deus, qui hodiernam diem beati regisque martyris tui Oswini sanguine consecrasti, concede propicius, ut qui victoriæ ipsius recolimus insignia, ipsi sociari mereamur in gloria. per.” f. 72.

“Deus, qui hodierna die beatum Oswinum regem participem fieri concessisti gloriæ angelorum,

da nobis, quæsumus, universorum veniam peccatorum, ut mereamur, ipso interveniente, cernere te in regno celorum." f. 74.

"Protege, quæsumus, Domine, familiam tuam sancti Oswini regis que martyris patrocinio innitentem, que per intercessionem ejusdem protectoris nostri ab hostis defensam insidiis, in securitate constitue pacis que æternæ salutis. per." f. 75.

"Deus, qui beatum Oswinum ad hoc predestinasti, ut per martyrium Ecclesiæ tuæ splenderet lucerna salutis, ejus meritis a nobis expelle quæque obscura iniquitatis, nosque illumina claritate tocius honestatis." f. 75.

"Largire supplicibus tuis, omnipotens Deus Pater, cunctorum veniam facinorum, que quos facis beatissimi Oswini martyris tui sollemnitate, facias meritis que suffragiis celitus sublimari. per Dominum." f. 75.

"Pretiosam celebritatem beati regis que martyris tui, Domine, Oswini, plebem recolentem, gratiæ tuæ muneribus perfunde, ut ejus interest nataliciis interesse mereatur que gaudiis. per Dominum." f. 76.

"Quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut beati Oswini regis que martyris tui precibus tuam nobis justiciam placari sentiamus, cujus gloriosa certamina solenni devotione mereamur. per Dominum." f. 76.

"Præsta, quæsumus, Domine Deus noster, ut sicut in sollemnitate sancti regis que martyris tui Oswini tua magnalia multipliciter veneramus, ita tuo munere cum eodem in celesti gloria perpetuo potiamur. per." f. 76.

"Sancti regis que martyris tui Oswini sollemni-

tas, Domine, prosit familiæ tuæ, ut per ipsum mereamur percipere gaudia sempiternæ gloriæ. per Dominum nostrum." f. 76.

"Deus, qui beatum regem que martyrem tuum Oswinum multis que mirandis miraculis facis choruscare, fac nos ita ejus sacram solennitatem celebrare, ut cum eo vitam possideamus eternam. per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum." f. 76. Bibl. C. C. C. Oxon. MSS. 1601.—Joan. Tinmouth. S. Reg. et Mart. Oswini Vita, cum Officiis pro ejus Festo.

⁸ In the index to Whelock's Bede, under the head *Invocatio*, may be seen numerous references to that work, from which it will appear plainly that the venerable father of English ecclesiastical history knew nothing of invoking saints. The Saxon homilies for festivals also, though written, in many cases, not long before the Conquest, very rarely make any allusion to such a practice. Of this abstinence in the prayers provided by our ancient Church, proofs are to be found in the three last notes. More proofs of the same kind are supplied by Whelock, (p. 497.) and by Dr. Hickes, in the Appendix to his *Letters to a Popish Priest*. The established views of Anglo-Saxon divines were, indeed, utterly at variance with the principle of invoking invisible members of God's creation; as is shewn by an extract from a homily on Antichrist, printed by Whelock, (p. 495.) The homilist says of Antichrist: "He raiseth himself above all whom heathen men said to be Gods, in heathen wise: such as were Erculus the giant, and Apollinis, whom they thought a great god. Thor also, and Eowthen (Woden) whom heathen men celebrate

greatly. Over all these he raiseth himself alone; because he thinks that he alone is stronger than all of them. And not only he raiseth himself above them all, but also above *the Holy Trinity, which alone is to be supplicated, and celebrated, and honoured*: that, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

⁹ "Deus, qui beatæ Mariæ virginis utero Verbum tuum, angelo annunciante, carnem suscipere voluisti, præsta supplicibus tuis, ut qui vere eam genetricem Dei credimus, ejus apud te intercessionibus adjuvemur: per eundem Deum.

"Concede, quæsumus, Omnipotens Deus, ut intercessio nos sanctæ Dei genetricis Mariæ et beatarum omnium virtutum celestium, et sanctorum patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, martyrum, confessorum, atque virginum, et omnium electorum tuorum, ubique lætificet, ut dum eorum merita recolimus, patrocinia sentiamus: per." (Bibl. C.C.C.C. Portiforium Oswaldi. MS. CCCXCI.)

"Intercedente pro nobis santa Dei genetrice, Maria, auxilietur nobis Omnipotens Dominus. Amen.

"Per intercessionem sanctæ Dei genetricis Mariæ in suo sancto servitio confortet nos Dominus." (Bibl. Bodl. Missal. Leofric. MSS. Bodley, 579. f. 10.)

¹⁰ Ðurh ure ealdan modor efan ur pearð heoponer ricez geat belocen. ⁊ eft þurh marian hit is ur zeponod. Ðurh þ heo rylf nu to dæg pulðorfullice inrepeðe. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 22. f. 186.) *Through our old mother, Efa, the gate of heaven's kingdom was locked against us; and afterwards, through Maria, it is opened to us. Through it she herself, now, to day, gloriously entered.*

¹¹ “ God, through his prophet, commanded us, that we should praise him and magnify him in his saints; in whom he is wonderful. Much more it becometh, that we should honour him with songs of praise and glorious celebrations in this great festival of his blessed mother. For, undoubtedly, all her honour is the praise of God.” Wheloc. in Bed. 449.

¹² Sancta maria pær xvi pinten þa heo cƿiƿt acænde. ⁊ ƿiððan heo pær mið him xxxiii pinta on middan earde. ⁊ heo leofode xiiii gear æfter him heƿ on ƿorulde. ⁊ heo pær lxiii pinta þa heo ƿorðferde. ⁊ ƿe hælend pær þƿittiz pinta þa hine man fullode. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 3. f. 42.) *St. Maria was sixteen winters when she bore Crist, and afterwards she was with him thirty-three winters on the earth; and she lived fourteen years after him here in the world, and she was sixty-three winters when she departed; and Jesus was thirty winters when he was baptised.*

¹³ Mæden iƿ cƿiƿter modop. ⁊ on mægðhade ƿunode. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 22. Ex Hom. in Purif. S. Mariæ.) *Maiden is Crist's mother, and in maidenhead remained.*

And maria hiƿ modop pær ofen-ƿceaderop þƿiƿh mihte þær halƿan ƿarter. Ðeo pær ƿpa ofen-ƿceaderop þæt heo pær ƿeclænƿod. ⁊ ƿerceald ƿið ealle leahtƿar. þƿiƿh mihte þær halƿan ƿarter. ⁊ mið heoponlicum ƿiƿum ƿeƿýlled ⁊ ƿehalgod. (Ibid.) *And Maria, his mother, was overshadowed through might of the Holy Ghost. She was so overshadowed, that she was cleansed and protected against all vices, through might of the Holy Ghost, and with heavenly graces filled and hallowed.*

“ All men, as the Prophet saith, are conceived with unrighteousness, and born with sins : but our Saviour alone was conceived without unrighteousness, and without sins born.” Wheloc. in Bed. 448.

¹⁴ “ What shall we say concerning the natal time of Maria, but that she was procreated through a father and a mother, even as other men, and was born on the day which we call the sixth of the ides of September? Her father (was) called Joachim, and her mother, Anna ; religious persons under the old law. But we will not write any farther concerning them, lest we fall into errors.” Wheloc. in Bed. 448.

¹⁵ Nīr ȝerǣd on nanre bec nanre ȝrutelre ȝepīrjunȝe be hýre ȝeendunȝe· buȝon þæt heo nu to dæg puldopfullice of þam lichaman ȝepat· hýre býrȝen īr ȝrūtol eallum onlociendum oð ðīre andpeardan dæg· on middan dene īoraphat· ȝeo dene īr betpux þære dune ȝion ȝ þam munte olivetī· ȝ ȝeo býrȝen īr aæteoped open ȝ æmtīȝ· ȝ þær on uppan on hýre ȝurðmýnte īr aræped mære cýrce mid ȝunderlican ȝtan ȝeȝophite· Nīr nanum deaðlicum men cuð hu· oððe on hƿilcere tīde· hýre halȝa lichama þanon ȝebroden ȝære· oððe hƿīder he ahaƿen ȝȝ· oððe hƿæðer heo of deaðe arīre· Ērædon þeah ȝehƿýlce laƿeoƿar þæt hýre ȝunu ȝe ðe on þam þrūdđan dæȝe mīhtlice of deaðe arar· þæt he eac hīr modop lichaman of deaðe arærde· ȝ mid undeaðlicum puldpe on heoƿonan ȝuce ȝelozode· (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 22. Ex Hom. in Assumpt. S. Mariæ, f. 183.) *There is not read in any books any more certain information concerning her end, but that she, now, to-day, gloriously from the body passed. Her tomb is manifest to all be-*

holders, to this present day, in the middle of the valley of Iosaphat: the valley is betwixt the mount Sion and the mount Oliveti, and the tomb is shewn open and empty, and thereupon, in her honour, is reared a great church, wrought with wondrous stones. It is not known to any mortal men, how, or at what time, her holy body was withdrawn thence, or whither it is raised, or whether she rose from the dead. Some learned men, however, have said, that her Son, who, on the third day, mightily from death arose; that he also reared his mother's body from the dead, and lodged it with immortal glory in the heavenly kingdom.

Ðræt pýlle pe eop rpyðor reczan be þýrrum rým-
bel-dæge. buton þ̅ maria cpyrter modor pearð on
ðýrrum dæge of ðýrrum gerpincfullum life genu-
men upp to heoronan rice to hipe leouan runu þe
heo on lue abear. mid þam heo blýrað on ecepe
mýrðe á to worulde. Euf pe mare recgað be þýr-
rum rýmbel-dæge þonne pe on þam halgum bocum
rædað þe þurh goder dihte gerette pæron. ðonne
beo pe þam gedpolmannum gelice. þe be heora
azenum dihte. oððe be rpernum feola leara ge-
retnýrra arriton. Ac ða geleaffullan lapeopar
auzurtinur. hieponimur. gnezorur. 7 gehpýlce
oðre þurh heora pyrdom hi torurpon. Sýnd rpa
ðeah gýt þa ðpollican bec ærðer ge on leden. ge
on englyrc. 7 hi rædað ungerade menn. Genoh
ýr geleaffullum mannum to rædenne 7 to rec-
zenne þ̅ þ̅ roð ýr. 7 feapa ýr þæra manna þe mage
ealle þa bec þe þurh goder muð. oððe þurh goder
gart gedihhte pæron fulpmedlice ðurh-rmeazan.
Læte gehpa apez þa ðpollican learunge þe þa unpa-
nan to forpýrðe lædað. 7 ræde gehpa oððe lýrte

þæne halȝan lape þe up to heofonan rice ȝeƿyrpað·
 ȝif hi ȝehýnan ƿillað. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 121.
 ex Hom. in Assumpt. S. Mariæ Virg. f. 159.) *What
 shall we better say to you, on this festal day, than that
 Maria, Crist's mother, was taken, on this day, from
 this painful life up to the kingdom of heaven to her
 beloved Son, whom she bare, in life; with whom
 she rejoiceth in everlasting mirth, world without
 end. If we say more of this festal day than we
 read in the holy books, which were composed
 through God's inditement, then be we like the he-
 retics, who have written, from their own indite-
 ment, or from dreams, many lying compositions.
 But the orthodox doctors, Augustinus, Hieroni-
 mus, Gregorius, and such others, through their
 wisdom, overthrew them. There are, though, yet
 heretical books, both in Latin and in English, and
 foolish men read them. Enough (it) is to ortho-
 dox men to read and say that which is truth: and
 few there are of those men who can perfectly con-
 sider through all the books which were indited
 through God's mouth, or through God's Spirit.
 Let every one throw away the heretical falsehoods
 which lead the unwary to destruction; and let
 every one read or hear the holy lore which directs
 us to the kingdom of heaven, if we will hear it.*

Whelock has printed, and translated into Latin,
 the greatest part of this last extract, (p. 172.) among
 his proofs of Anglo-Saxon care to encourage the
 reading of Scripture. It is also no dubious author-
 ity for believing that our ancient Church admitted
 Holy Writ alone as the source of religious know-
 ledge.

¹⁶ Nu is hýpe nama ȝeƿelht hlæƿdige· oððe cƿen·

oððe ræ-rteorpa. Heo is hlæfdige gecwæden· forðan þe heo cende þone hlaforð heofonar ⁊ eorðan. And heo is cwen gecwæden· forðan þe heo com of þam æðelan cýnne· ⁊ of þam cýnelican ræde dauides cýnnes. Sæ-rteorpa heo is gecwæden· forðan þe ræ-rteorpa on niht gecýðeð seýp-liðendum mannum· hpýðen býð east· ⁊ west· hpýðen suð ⁊ norð. Sþa þonne pearð þurh ða halgan fæmnan sancta marian gecýðeð se rihte riðfæt to þam ecan life þam þe lange ær rættan on þeortnum· ⁊ on deaðes secan· ⁊ on þam unrtillum ýðum þises middan earðes· ⁊ á rýððan pyrton ealle halige þone fruman middan earðes ⁊ ende· ⁊ heofona rice pulðor ⁊ helle wite. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 22. Ex Hom. de Nativ. S. Mariæ, f. 201.) *Now is her name rightly, Lady, or Queen, or Sea-star. She is called Lady, because she bare the Lord of heaven and earth. And she is called Queen, because she came of a noble family, and of the kingly seed of David's family. Sea-star she is called, because the sea-star, at night, pointeth out to sea-faring men whither is east and west, whither south and north. So then was pointed out, through the holy Virgin, St. Maria, the right path to eternal life to them who long before sat in darkness, and in the shadow of death, and on the unquiet waves of this world: and ever since all holy (men) have known the beginning of the world, and the end, and the glory of the kingdom of heaven, and the punishment of hell.*

¹⁷ Oðre martīnar on heora lichaman þrowodon martīrdom for crīstes geleafan· ac seo eadige maria nær na lichamlice gemartīnod· ac hýre rapul wæs swiðe geancrumod mid mýcelre þrowunge

þa þa heo ƿtōð ðreorūz ƿorān onƷean cƿurter ƿode·
 7 hýne leorā cild Ʒereah mið irenum næƷlum on
 hearðum treore Ʒefærtnod. Nu iƿ heo mare
 þonne martiƿ ƿorðan þe heo þƿopode þone mar-
 tiƿdom on hýne ƿaple· þe oðre martiƿas þƿopodon
 on heora lichaman. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 22. f.
 185.) *Other martyrs in their bodies suffered mar-
 tyrdom for Crist's faith; but the blessed Maria
 was not bodily martyred: but her soul was very
 distressed with great suffering, when she stood
 mournful over against Crist's cross, and saw her
 beloved child fastened with iron nails upon the
 hard tree. Now is she more than martyr, because
 she suffered martyrdom in her soul: the other
 martyrs suffered in their bodies.*

¹⁸ Ðer Ʒýmbel-ðæƷ oƿer-Ʒtīhð unƿiðmetenlice
 ealra oðra halƷena mæƷre-ðazas· Ʒƿa micclum
 Ʒƿa ðiƿ halƷe mæðen Ʒodeƿ modor iƿ unƿiðmeten-
 lic eallum oðrum mæðenum. Ðer ƿneolƷ-ðæƷ iƿ
 uƿ Ʒeaplic· ac he iƿ heoron-ƿarum ƷinƷallic. Be
 þýrrepe heoronlican cƿene upƷtize ƿulðraðe Ʒe
 halƷa ƷaƷt on loƷƷanƷum· þuƿ beƿƿinende. Ðƿæt
 iƿ þeor þe heƿ aƷtīhð Ʒƿýlce aƿiƷende ðæƷ-Ʒuma·
 Ʒƿa ƿlitiz Ʒƿa mona· Ʒƿa Ʒecopen Ʒƿa Ʒunne· 7 Ʒƿa
 eƷerlic Ʒƿa ƿýrð-Ʒuma. Ðe halƷa ƷaƷt ƿunðrode·
 ƿorðan þe he ðýðe þæt eall heoron-ƿaru ƿunðrode
 þýrrepe ƿæmnan upƿæƿelðer. Maria iƿ ƿlitizne
 þonne mona ƿorðan þe heo Ʒcīnð buƷon ateorunƷe
 hýne beophƷnerre. Ðeo iƿ Ʒecopen Ʒƿa Ʒƿa Ʒunne
 mið leoman healiƿra mihta· ƿorðan þe ðƿihten Ʒe
 þe iƿ ƿihtƿiƷnýƿ Ʒe Ʒunne hi Ʒecear to cennerƷan.
 Ðýne ƿæƿ iƿ ƿiðmeten ƿýrðlicum Ʒuman ƿorðan
 þe heo ƿær mið halƷum mæƷnum ýmbƷƿýmed· 7
 mið engla þneatum. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 22.

f. 184.) *This holiday surpasses incomparably the mass-days of all the other saints: so much as this holy maiden, God's mother, is not to be compared with all other maidens. This festal day is yearly to us, but it is continual with the inhabitants of heaven. On this heavenly queen's ascent, the Holy Ghost gave glory in hymns; thus asking: Who is this that here ascends like the rising dawn; as beauteous as the moon, as choice as the sun, as terrible as a warlike band? The Holy Ghost wondered, for he caused, that all heaven's inhabitants wondered (at) this virgin's upward journey. Maria is more beauteous than the moon, because she shineth without intermission of her brightness. She is choice as the sun with rays of exalted power, because the Lord, who is the sun of righteousness, chose her for a parent. Her journey is comparable with a warlike band, because she was with heavenly potentates escorted, and with companies of angels.*

¹⁹ “S. Ambrose speaketh thus to the water of Baptisme; *O aqua, quæ humano aspersum sanguine, &c. O thou water, that haste washed the worlde, stained with man's bloude. O thou water, that deservedst to be a sacramente of Christe. Thou beginnest, thou fulfillest the perfite mysteries, &c.* Muste we needs thinke, bicause S. Ambrose thus speaketh unto, and calleth upon the water, that, therefore, either the water had eares, and hearde him; or Christe himself was there corporally present in the water?” Bishop Jewel's *Replie unto M. Hardinges Answere*. Lond. 1566. p. 398.

²⁰ “*Nec mirum, quidem, si nostrates tarde adeo, et tam pigre ad sanctorum imagines adorandas ve-*

nerint, cum parcius sub hoc seculo (8. sc.) ad eosdem ipsos preces effudisse dicitur. Est enim mihi Psalterium Davidis sub temporibus Niceni Concilii II. vel mox inde, ut conjicitur exaratum : in quo ad finem uniuscujusque Psalmi, et singularum sectionum Psalmi CXIX. habetur oratio, (numero scil. 171.) nec inter eas omnes reperitur una aliqua ad Sanctorum aliquem designata, nec qua nomen divæ Virginis, vel Apostolorum alicujus, aut inferioris alterius Sancti meminit. Haud nego, tamen, veteres ipsos Saxones nostros, alias, cruces, (ut Alexandrini olim sub infantia Ecclesiæ,) Christianitatis symbolum, alias, Sanctorum imagines, ad memoriam, ornamentum, reverentiam, et exemplum pietatis exhibuisse. Vide donum Inæ Regis Occid. Sax. infra hic in ann. Dom. 725.

Crebra fuit sub hoc tempore, (Canut. R. A. D. 1032. aut circ.) beatæ Virginis, et Sanctorum invocatio, quam et in Litanis publicis (tertio repetitam) jam invenio, proxime post imploratam sanctæ Trinitatis misericordiam, vir. *Sancta Maria ora pro nobis. Sancta Dei genitrix ora pro nobis. Sancta Virgo virginum ora pro nobis.* Sequitur etiam ad archangelos, et cœlestium animarum cœtum reliquum nominatim provocatio, more hodierno in Romana Ecclesia." Spelman. Conc. I. pp. 218, 537.

The Psalter of which Sir Henry Spelman speaks in the former of these extracts was published by his son in 1640. The learned editor thus mentions the prayers to which his father alludes. "Cum vero in Codice nostro, itemque in MS. Collegii Trinitatis, ad finem Psalmi uniuscujusque optimæ reperiuntur preces, in animum Psalmi cujusvis

compositæ, nos, quamvis ad linguæ Saxonicae notitiam, nihil prorsus conducant, eas tamen publicandas æquum duximus. Tum ut librum ipsum fideliter recitemus, tum ut antiquioris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ praxin synceram ob oculos ponamus, quæ sub illo tempore, ut videtur, nec beatorum animas, nec beatissimam Virginem Mariam, nec crucem Domini adorandas docuit. Namque inter preces plus minus centum et septuaginta, ne minima quidem intercessio reperitur, nisi quæ soli Deo, ipsique immediate præstatur.

In his concessions, Sir Henry appears to have been somewhat too liberal; especially since he cites no authority for them, besides King Ina's grant to Glastonbury; which he has printed in p. 227. Of this instrument he has observed, that the year of our Lord and that of the indiction do not agree in it. There are also other internal marks of forgery, and it is notorious that monastic forgeries of this kind are almost innumerable. With reference to crosses and images, however, there is no occasion to be particular with Ina's alleged grant; for it does not mention such things. The notice taken of them is found in a piece of history appended to the grant, and not claiming a coeval date. In this historical notice, we are told, that Ina lined a chapel at Glastonbury with gold and silver plates, and that his images, with all other of his gifts, were upon a scale of corresponding magnificence. It is needless to say any thing more of his liberality, or to shew the little value of such accounts, as evidences of iconolatry in the time of Ina.

²¹ Utan biððan nu þæt eadige 7 þæt Ʒerælige

mæden marian· þæt heo ur gehingie to hýne
 azenum suna· ⁊ to hýne rcýppende hælende
 cripte· se þe gepýlt ealra þinga· mid fæder· ⁊
 mid halgan gaste· á on ecenerre. Amen. (Bibl.
 Bodl. MSS. Junii 22. Ex Hom. in Purif. S. Mariæ.)
*Come, pray now that blessed and that happy
 maiden Maria, that she would intercede for us to
 her own Son, and to her creator, Jesus Crist; who
 ruleth (over) all things, with the Father and with
 the Holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Amen.*

Mine gebroðra þa leofertan· uton clýpian mid
 ringalum benum to þære halgan godes meder·
 þæt heo ur on upum neaðþearfnýrrum to hýne
 beapne geðingie. Ðit is swýðe geleaflic þæt he
 hýne miccle ðinger tþian wýlle se þe hýne sylfne
 gemedemode þæt he þurh hi for middan earðes
 alýfednerre to menniscum menn acenned worde·
 se þe æfre is god buton anginne· ⁊ nu þurh-punað
 on anum hade soð man· ⁊ soð god· á on ecenerre·
 swa swa gehwilec man punað on sawle ⁊ on lichaman
 an man· swa is cripte god ⁊ man an hælend· se þe
 leofað ⁊ rihtað mid fæder ⁊ halgum gaste on ealra
 worulda woruld abutan ende. Am. (Ex cod. cod.
 f. 189.) *My beloved brethren, come call with con-
 tinual prayers to the holy mother of God, that she
 would intercede for us in our necessities to her
 child. It is very credible that he will yield to her
 great intercession, who demeaned himself, that he,
 through her, for the world's redemption, was born
 among human beings: who is ever God without
 beginning, and now continueth in one person, true
 man and true God, for ever and ever: even as
 every man liveth in soul, and in body, one man, so
 is Crist, God and man, one Saviour; who liveth*

and reigneth with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, world without end. Amen.

It is worthy of remark, that the second extract in note 15, upon this Sermon, an extract so plainly levelled against unscriptural statements, is thus followed in the MS. Uton nu zeopnlíce biððan þa eadigan marian. þe nu to ðæi pær ahaþen 7 zeu-ƿeþoð buƿon engle þpýmne. ꝥ heo ur þingie to þam ælmihtigan Ʒode. ƿe þe leoƿað 7 ƿuxað on ealpa ƿopulða ƿopulð. Amen. *Come, now, earnestly pray the blessed Maria, who, to-day, was raised and exalted above the majesty of angels, that she would intercede for us to the Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth world without end. Amen.* But then it is manifest, from the position of this last passage, at the very end of the homily, that it is not unlikely to be the addition of an age subsequent to that in which the body of the homily was written.

²² It must appear obvious, that individual usage was likely to pave the way in this as in other instances for public innovation. In the case, however, of invoking saints, this conclusion is confirmed by the ancient *Portiforium Oswaldi*, in the MS. library of C. C. C. C. (No. CCCXCI.) already cited. At the end of this interesting volume, which contains such numerous proofs, that the public prayers of our ancient Church addressed God only, is a series of prayers invoking saints, but attached to no particular services. Hence it seems not an unreasonable conjecture, that they were provided for the private use of persons who had acquired a taste for the Italian fashion of calling upon the dead. It should be remarked of this MS. that po-

sitive reliance cannot be placed upon it in all its parts, there being numerous erasures and substitutions in it. Hence it is not improbable, that had it come down to us exactly as the original scribe left it, we might find in it even more testimonies against Romish innovations than it now supplies.

Another reason for conjecturing that individuals first used the invocation of saints in their private devotions appears to flow from the following conclusion of a penitential prayer. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 3. f. 46.) Nu ic biððe halrize þa heoƿonlican ƿæmnan. Sancta marian. ƿilce ic michael. ⁊ gabriel. ⁊ Raphael. Iohanner. ⁊ Petrus. ⁊ Paulus. ⁊ Andƿear. Iohanner. ⁊ Iacobus. ⁊ Matheus. ⁊ Philippus. ⁊ Bartholomeus. Thomas. ⁊ Iacobus. Simon. ⁊ Taddes. Nu ic halrize þa cƿurtes þeznas ƿor heora ealdorlican ƿealde þ ƿe me ƿynfulne man ne ƿceadon on þa eapnfullan þýrtƿa ƿor minum ýfelum ƿeopcum. *Now I pray, beseech the heavenly virgin, St. Maria; as I (do) Michael, and Gabriel, and Raphael, Iohannes, and Petrus, and Paulus, and Andreas, Iohannes, and Iacobus, and Matheus, and Philippus, and Bartholomeus, Thomas, and Iacobus, Simon, and Taddeus. Now I pray the servants of Crist, through their princely seat, that ye repel not me, a sinful man, into miserable darkness, for my evil works.*

- 13 “ Ave Rex gentis Anglorum,
Milesque Regis angelorum,
Rex Oswine, flos martyrum,
Velut rosa, vel lilium,
Funde preces ad Dominum
Pro salute fidelium.”

(Bibl. C. C. C. Oxon. MSS. 1601. S. Reg. et Mart. Oswini Vita cum Officiis.) f. 77.

As this MS. has no appearance of very high antiquity, there can be little doubt that the offices were transcribed from some older volume or volumes. The hymns, therefore, are very likely to be less ancient than the prayers. The latter, indeed, as being portions of established rituals, were not very readily susceptible of innovation. But a superstitious fancy might esteem it perfectly lawful to introduce among them some metrical embellishments according to its own taste.

²⁴ The following may be taken as an example of this innovation in its greatest excess.

“ De Omnibus Sanctis. Ad Vesperum.

Ave Maria grā. Beata mater, et innupta virgo, gloriosa regina mundi, intercede pro nobis ad Dominum. O post partum virgo inviolata.

Sancte Michael, archangele, defende nos in prælio, ut non pereamus in tremendo iudicio. In conspectu angelorum psallam tibi.

Inter natos mulierum.—*Fuit homo missus a Deo cui nomen.*—*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram.*

Sancte Paule, Apostole, prædicator veritatis, et doctor gentium, intercede pro nobis ad Deum qui te legit.

Andreas, Christi famulus, dignus Deo Apostolus, germanus Petri, et in passione socius.

In omnem terram exivit sonus eorum.

Sacerdos Domini, Martine, pastor egregie, ora pro nobis Deum.

Ora pro nobis, beate Benedicte, ut digni efficiamur promissione Christi.

Sancte Cuthberte, confessor Christi venerande, adesto nostris precib. pius et propitius.

Beate Birine, prædicator egregie, succurre nobis tua sancta intercessione.

Sancte Swithune, gloriose confessor Christi, ora pro peccatis nostris ad Dominum.

O beate Judoce, magnæ fideſtua^a, intercede pro nobis ad Deum qui te elegit.

Beata Ætheldryd, virgo Dei electa, intercede pro peccatis nostris, omniumque populorum.

Offerentur regi virgines.—Exultent justi.—Lætamini in Domino, et exultent justi.—OREMUS.

Tribue, quæsumus, Domine, omnes sanctos tuos jugiter orare pro nobis, et semper eos clementer audiri : per.” (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 3. f. 55.)

In note 5 to this sermon may be seen a prayer desiring the intercession of St. Laurence. A Homily in the Bodleian Library (MSS. Junii 24. In Pass. S. Laur. Mr. p. 92.) contains the following exhortation to invoke him. Uton nu biððan mið eadmoðre rtemne þone halzan goder cýðene lapentium. þær fpeolr-tyð gerputelað þer andþearða ðæg ealne geleafulne gelapunge. † he ur þingie rið þone heofonlican cýning. for þær naman he

^a Perhaps, *magna est fides tua*. Judocus, we are told by Surius, (tom. VII. p. 1008.) was son of Rathaël, king of the Britons, and a contemporary of Dagobert, king of the Franks. He had an opportunity, it is also said, of ascending the throne of his elder brother, who desired to abdicate. But he chose, in preference, the life of a pilgrim and a hermit, alternately, upon the continent. Among his miracles, he fixed his staff into the dry ground, and the water immediately gushed upwards. Thus it seems that aquatic diviners with hazel rods belong to a class of some antiquity.

þroþode mid cenum mode manifealde tintreþum·
 mid þam he oþrophlice on eceneþre pulþað. *Am.*
Come, now, pray with humble voice the holy martyr
of God, Larentius, whose festal tide of all the be-
lieving congregation this present day declares ;
that he intercede for us with the heavenly king, for
whose name he suffered, with resolute mind, mani-
fold torments : with whom he is securely glorified
in eternity. Am. As the beautiful MS. from which
 this extract was made is written in a hand making
 considerable approaches to the black letter church
 text, of an age posterior to the Saxon period, it is
 most probably a volume transcribed, before the
 Saxon tongue had become obsolete, from one of
 higher antiquity. If such be the fact, and the case
 is hardly doubtful, additions would be not unlikely
 to be made, in compliance with prevailing habits
 and opinions ; and such could be made no where
 so conveniently, as at the conclusions of the several
 pieces. There are, however, very few appearances
 of such liberties ; the volume bearing, for the most
 part, very plain negative testimony against the in-
 vocation of saints, by its general abstinence from
 such suspicious conclusions.

²⁵ “ Confiteor Domino Deo cœli, et omnibus sanc-
 tis ejus, et tibi, castissima ac beatissima virgo Maria ;
 quia peccavi nimis in factis, in verbis, in cogita-
 tione, in locutione, in pollutione mentis et corporis,
 et omnibus operibus pravis, quibus homo mortalis
 peccare potest. Ideo precor te, sanctissima Dei ge-
 netrix Maria, omnesque sanctos et electos Dei, ut
 oretis ad Deum pro me miserrimo, et peccatore.
 Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 3. f. 107.

²⁶ In S. Mich. Archang. Orat.

Adesto plebi tuæ misericors Deus, et ut gratiæ tuæ beneficia potiora percipiant, beatis Michaelis archangeli fac supplicem deprecationibus sublevari. per :” (Bibl. C. C. C. C. Portif. Osw. MS.)

In f. 7. of Leofric’s Missal, in the Bodleian Library, are also four prayers to God, supplicating for his aid, through the intercession of St. Michael. But these contain no address to the archangel personally.

²⁷ “ God’s saints are angels and men. Angels are spirits without bodies. Concerning them we fear to speak many things ; because it (belongs) to God alone to know how their invisible nature, without any contamination or diminution, continueth in eternal purity.” Wheloc. in Bed. p. 313.

²⁸ Egwin, who became bishop of Worcester towards the close of the seventh century, has been charged by Bale, and the Centuriators of Magdeburg, with the introduction of image-worship into England. This prelate is said to have seen, in a dream, three female figures, one of whom he took for the Virgin Mary, and by whom he was enjoined to erect a monastery, and to place her image in it. Egwin built, in consequence, the monastery of Evesham ; that place being the scene of his vision. He then went to Rome, obtained there a ratification of the privileges of his monastery, an approbation of his dream, and a promise of a legate council in England, for naturalizing the worship of images. The story goes on to say, that the promised council was holden in London, in the year 710, and that it agreed, of course, to the wor-

ship of images. Now, under the name of this Egwin, we certainly have an instrument, printed in the various editions of the councils, shortly mentioning the dream, and enumerating various estates with which Evesham abbey was endowed, together with privileges claimed by the monks of that house. This paper, however, even if genuine, which it most probably is not, would make nothing for iconolatriy: no mention of images occurring in it. As for the alleged council of London, Bede, who lived in the time when it is reported to have sitten, says not one word about it. No such council, therefore, in all probability, ever assembled. The papal legate also, to whom is attributed the direction of this pretended council, was Boniface; the pope who sent him over, Constantine. Now this Boniface was most probably no other than Winfrid, archbishop of Mentz, an Englishman, who long acted as legate of the Roman see upon the continent. But it is certain that he was never legate to Constantine. Thus the whole account is palpably nothing more than a legendary tale. Its falsity likewise appears from the facts detailed in notes 10, 11, and 12, upon the last Sermon: these being wholly inconsistent with English iconolatriy, at the close of the very century which is reported to have seen its establishment. This usage, therefore, like other innovations, must be supposed to have made its way by slow and almost imperceptible degrees, until it had gained sufficient possession of the public mind to challenge a conspicuous place among the duties of piety. Spelman. Conc. 211. Innett's *Orig. Anglic.* I. 145. Wharton. *Angl. Sacr.* I. 470.

²⁹ Oswald, king of Northumberland, upon the

eve of an important battle, caused a cross to be erected, in honour, Bede says, of God, and falling upon his knees before it, offered his own private prayers to the Father of mercies for success. He then exhorted all his soldiers to bend their knees, and join him in a common prayer to the living, true, and Almighty God. In all this there is nothing more than a demonstration of Oswald's anxiety to propitiate the favour of Heaven, by going into battle under a solemn profession of the Christian religion. These words of Bede, however, are amplified, perhaps, injudiciously by a homilist of later times. He makes the king say, "Come, let us fall *to the cross*, and pray Almighty God." Another homilist, finding probably in such language a tendency to mislead, admonishes the people that they should by no means bend to the cross itself, but only to him who hung upon it. Such admonitions, however, at length were forgotten, or explained away, and before the Normans came, the people whom they conquered had learnt to bend to the cross itself, being taught indeed to do this in the Saviour's name : a caution, possibly, not insufficient with the discerning few, but certainly useless as to the uninformed and unreflecting many. Wheloc. in Bed. p. 165.

³⁰ Ða appaƿ ƿe ælmihtiga ƿod him ƿpa ƿtænene pexbædu mið aƷenum ƿingne · on þam ƿæron apputene tyn ƿopð · þ ƿynd tyn ælice beboða. Ðæpa ƿopða ƿæron þneo on anƿe tabulan apputene · 7 ƿeoƿon on þære oðre. Ðæt ƿopme beboð iƿ · Ðrihten þin ƿod iƿ an ƿod. Ðæt oðer ƿopð iƿ · Ne undeƿƿoh ðu þineƿ drihteneƿ naman on yðel-nýrre. Ðæt þuðde ƿopð iƿ. Beo þu Ʒeimýndig þ

þu þone ƿeſten-dæg ƿneolſige. Ðaſ þneƿ ƿorð
 ƿtoðon on anre tabulan. On þæne oðre tabulan
 ƿær þ ƿorðne beboð. Aƿƿurða þinne ƿæðeſ 7 þine
 moðor. Ðæt oðeſ beboð. Ne hæm þu unrihtlice.
 Ðæt þriðde. Ne ofſleħ þu man nan. Ðæt feoſðe.
 Ne ƿtala þu. Ðæt ƿiſte. Ne beo þu leaſ ƿeſita.
 Ðæt rihte. Ne ƿeſilna þu oðreſ manneſ ƿiſeſ.
 Ðæt ſeofoðe. Ne ƿeſilna þu oðreſ manneſ æhta.
 Ðaſ tyn beboða ƿynð eallum mannum ƿeſette to
 ƿeħealdeenne. (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. Ii.—4—6.
 Ex Serm. de Lege Dei, in media Quadragesima, p.
 170.) *Then wrote the almighty God for him two
 stone tablets with his own finger; on which were
 written ten words, which are the ten legal com-
 mandments. Of these words, were three on one
 tabula written, and seven, on the other. The first
 commandment is: The Lord, thy God, is one God.
 The other word is: Take not thou thy Lord's
 name in vain. The third word is: Be thou mind-
 ful, that thou keep as a holiday the resting-day.
 These three words stood on one tabula. On the
 other tabula, the first commandment was: Honour
 thy father and thy mother. The other command-
 ment: Copulate not thou unrightly. The third:
 Slay thou no man. The fourth: Steal not thou.
 The fifth: Be not thou a false witness. The sixth:
 Covet thou not another man's wife. The seventh:
 Covet thou not another man's property. These ten
 commandments are set for all men to hold.*

A like version of the Decalogue, with a commen-
 tary, is found in Ælfric's second epistle, *Quando
 Dividitur Crisma*; of which a copy is preserved in
 the Bodleian Library, among the Junian MSS.
 (121. f. 111.) and in the library of C. C. C. C.

among archbishop Parker's MSS. (CXC.) Among the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Vespasian, D. 14. f. 10.) is also a Saxon copy of this truncated Decalogue, with a short commentary upon each commandment. Against the place where the second ought to stand, is written, in a hand probably of the sixteenth century, *Ubi tamen erit præcept. non facies sculptile?*

Of Ælfric's version of the Decalogue, in his *Hep-tateuch*, or five books of Moses, with the books of Joshua and Judges, published in 1698, by Edward Thwaites, of Queen's college, Oxford, from a MS. in the Bodleian Library, the following is a literal translation. (p. 84.)

1. *God spake thus.* 2. *I am the Lord, thy God*.*
 4. *Work thou not the graven gods.* 5. *Nor honour (them.) I punish the father's unrighteousness on (his) children.* 6. *And I do mercy to them who love me, and hold my commandments.* 7. *Take thou not the Lord's name in vain. He shall not be guiltless who taketh his name in vain.* 8. *Hallow the resting-day.* 9. *Work six days all thy work.* 10. *The seventh is the Lord, thy God's resting-day: work thou no work on that day; nor any of those who are with you.* 11. *In six days, God wrought heaven, and earth, and sea, and all the things which are in them, and rested the seventh day, and hallowed it.* 12. *Honour father and mother.* 13. *Slay not thou.* 14. *Sin not thou.* 15. *Steal not thou.* 16. *Be not thou as a false testimony against thy neighbour.* 17. *Covert thou not thy neighbour's house; nor thou, his wife; nor his male-slave; nor his female-slave; nor his ox; nor his ass; nor any of those things which are his.*

For more modern instances of mutilated Decalogues, see Hist. Ref. II. 529, 530; III. 298; IV. 488.

31 “ DECALOGVS.

“ Drihten uuæs sprecende dæs uuord to Moyse, and thus euuæth : Ic com Drihten thin God, ic the utgelædde of Ægyptalond, and of heora theouudom.—Ne lufa thu othre fremde Godas ofer me.—Ne minne noman ne eig thu on idlennesse ; forthon the thu ne bist unscildig uuith me, gif thu on idlennesse eigst minne noman.—Gemyne that thu gehalgie thone restedæg. Uuyrceath couue syx dagas, and on tha seofothon restath couue, thu and thin sunu, and thine dōhter, and thin theouue, and thine uulne, and thin uueorenyten, and se cuma the bith binnan thinum durum. Forthon on syx dagas Crist geuuoerhte heofonas and eorþan, sæs, and alle gesceafta the on him sint ; and he gerest on thone seofothan dæge, and forthon Dryhten hine gehalgode.—Ara thinum fæder, and dinre meder, tha the Drihten sealde the, that thu sy thy leng libbend on eorþum.—Ne slea thu.—Ne stala thu.—Ne liege thu dearnunga.—Ne sæge thu lease geuuitnesse uuith thinum nehstan.—Ne uuilna thu thines nehstan yrfes mit unriht. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 39. *Decalogi, Orationis, Symboli, Saxonica Versio vetustissima : Marq. Freheri notis exposita. Typis Gotthardi Voegelini. Anno clv lo ex.* The MS. probably was transcribed by Junius, from some rare printed tract.) *The Lord was speaking these words to Moyses, and thus quoth : I am the Lord thy God, I thee out-led of Egypt's land, and of their slavery.—Love thou not other strange gods before me.—Take not my name in vain, for thou*

beest not guiltless with me, if thou in vain takest my name.—Mind that thou hallow the resting-day. Work you six days, and on the seventh, rest you, thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy servant, and thy maid, and thy working cattle, and the comer that beeth within thy doors. For in six days Crist wrought heavens and earth, seas and all creatures that in them are; and he rested on the seventh day, and therefore the Lord it hallowed.—Honour thy father and thy mother, that the Lord gave thee, that thou be a long liver on the earth.—Slay not thou.—Steal not thou.—Lie not thou secretly.—Say thou not false witness against thy neighbour.—Covet thou not thy neighbour's substance with unright.

³² King Alfred was sent to Rome, with a splendid train, in the fifth year of his age. Two years afterwards, namely, in 855, he went again to the pontifical city, with his father, Ethelwulf. That prince greatly preferred him to his elder brothers, and it is affirmed by most of our old historians, that pope Leo anointed him king, in his first visit to the ancient capital of Europe, at Ethelwulf's especial request. As it is certain, however, that Alfred assumed not the sceptre until death had removed his elder brothers out of his way, some writers have conjectured that he merely received confirmation (with chrism, of course) at the hands of the Pope. Others, again, represent that Leo, being guided by a divine impulse, anointed him king, as Samuel did David, not with any view of conferring upon him immediately the royal dignity, but because he foresaw that it would eventually fall to him. Of this notion it is needless to say any thing. Of the

former view it must be observed, that confirmation was usually administered, in that age, immediately after baptism ; hence Alfred, young as he was, had most likely partaken of that rite before his departure from England ; and that our ancient chroniclers represent him as having been anointed king at Rome. Dr. Ingram thus renders the account of this transaction, in the Saxon Chronicle : “ The same year king Ethelwulf sent his son, Alfred, to Rome ; and Leo, who was then Pope, consecrated him king, and adopted him as his spiritual son.” (7 hine to byrcop-runan genam.) (p. 94.) Now this fashion of adoption, on the part of illustrious persons, was an ordinary compliment in Alfred’s time. Thus Charles Martel sent his son, Pepin, to Luitprand, king of the Lombards, begging him to adopt that young prince as his son, and to clip his hair, according to the Lombardic mode : the receiving of locks of hair being the customary token of these adoptions. Constantine Pogonatus also sent locks of the hair of Justinian and Heraclius to pope Benedict II. It is not improbable that Ethelwulf desired this compliment of the Pope in behalf of his favourite son, Alfred ; and that the circumstance in that celebrated monarch’s early history, which has given rise to so much discussion, is nothing more than an intimation that this desire was granted. Nor is it unlikely that Ethelwulf likewise wished Leo to anoint his most beloved son. Pepin’s usurpation of the French crown, under papal advice, was a transaction comparatively recent, and Ethelwulf, probably, reasoned, that if a similar sanction could be obtained, it would enable him to make a successor of his own youngest and best-beloved child.

It is besides reasonable to suppose, that Ethelwulf really entertained an unusual degree of veneration for the Roman see; his earlier life having been spent in a monastery, and his habits, at all times, being best adapted for such an abode. But whatever may be the true reason of Alfred's first visit to Rome, and the true mode of explaining the compliments which he received there from the Pope, it is certain that his reception, and the whole journey, must have impressed his expanding mind with most agreeable recollections. These, too, were strengthened after the lapse of only two years; and thus he could hardly have failed to contract a habit of looking favourably upon every thing Roman. The deuterio-Nicene decrees were of this description; and hence it is no wonder that he received with little or no examination, such versions of the Decalogue as the patrons of these decrees felt themselves driven to publish. Spelman. *Ælfred. M. Vita.* Oxon. 1678. pp. 4, 5. Turner's *Hist. Angl. Sax.* I. 492.

³³ The following is a literal version of king Alfred's Decalogue. (Spelman, *Conc.* p. 354.)

1. *The Lord was speaking these words to Moyses, and thus saith: I am the Lord, thy God. I led thee out from Ægipt's land, and from their slavery. Love thou not other strange gods over me.*

2. *Utter not thou my name in vain: for thou beest not guiltless with me, if thou in vain utterest my name.*

3. *Mind that thou hallow the resting-day. Work you six days, and on the seventh, rest you; thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy slave, and*

thy maid-servant, and thy working cattle, and the comer who is within thy doors: for in six days Crist wrought the heavens and the earth, seas, and all creatures that in them are, and rested himself on the seventh day; and therefore the Lord hallowed it.

4. *Honour thy father and thy mother, whom the Lord gave thee, that thou be a long-liver on the earth.*

5. *Slay not thou.*

6. *Steal not thou.*

7. *Lie not thou secretly.*

8. *Say not thou false witness against thy neighbour.*

9. *Desire thou not thy neighbour's inheritance with unright.*

10. *Work thou not golden gods, or silveren.*

It is worthy of remark, that the various mutilations of the Decalogue are a plain departure from the traditions which ancient England was taught by her great scriptural authority. Bede, as will appear from the following extract, although doubtful as to the most accurate mode of enumerating the Commandments, and inclining to fanciful views in the explanation of them, yet ventures not upon withholding any one of their number.

“ Primum mandatum pertinet ad Deum Patrem, dum dicit, *Ego sum Dominus Deus tuus, non habebis Deos alienos; non facies tibi sculptile; et reliqua.* Utique ut hæc audiens, fornicatione tua in multos Deos non offendas. Secundum pertinet ad Filium, ubi dicit, *non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum*: id est, ne existimes creaturam esse Filium Dei, quoniam omnis visibilis creatura vanitati

subjecta est. Tertium mandatum, de Sabbato, ad Spiritum Sanctum pertinet, cujus domo requies nobis sempiterna promittitur. Per donum autem Spiritus sanctificamur: unde et hic dicitur, *Memento ut diem sabbati sanctifies*. In sex ergo ætatibus hujus mundi operamur, quasi in sex diebus; in septima die, hoc est, in fine hujus mundi, requies nobis æterna tribuetur. Post tria præcepta septenarius succedit numerus, pertinens ad amorem proximi, et incipit ab amore parentum, a quibus in hac vita sumimus exordium. Hoc autem mandatum in ordine est quartum, sed tamen ex septem est primum. Unde juxta Evangelium dicitur primum: primum enim est in altera tabula. Fortasse ideo non una, sed duæ tabulæ dictæ sunt, quia decem mandata hæc ad dilectionem Dei pertinent et proximi. Quintum est, *Non occides*; sextum, *Non mæchaberis*; septimum, *Non furtum facies*; octavum, *Non falsum testimonium dices*; nonum, *Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui*; decimum, *Non concupisces rem proximi tui*. Aut certe sic distinguendum, ut sit primum mandatum, *Non habebis Deos alienos*: secundum, *Non facies tibi sculptile*; tertium, *Non assumes*, et sic per ordinem, donec jungatur illud ubi dicit, *Non concupisces domum proximi tui, nec desiderabis uxorem ejus.*" Bedæ Ven. Presb. in Exod. Expos. cap. 20. Opp. tom. IV. col. 130.

³⁴ St. Matt. xix. 8. Romish writers commonly are unwilling to admit this respecting image-worship. Hence they abandon unceremoniously to their fate the visions of Egwin and the council of London; relations which would prove that image-worship was not introduced into England until more than a century after the death of Augustine.

They infer, however, that the Kentish apostle introduced this practice himself, from the fact that he and his brother missionaries advanced towards Ethelbert, bearing a silver cross *as a banner*, and a picture of Christ. “*At illi non dæmoniacæ, sed divina virtute præditi veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, ei imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabula depictam, letaniasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum propter quos, et ad quos venerant, salute æterna, Domino supplicabant.*” (Bed. Hist. Eccl. p. 76.) That the missionaries offered any kind of worship to these objects is not even hinted. Nor are there any traces in Bede of such worship offered by any others. The conduct of Augustine, in fact, was evidently dictated merely by a desire to make a favourable impression upon Ethelbert, and those around him, on his introduction to that prince. Perhaps, also, he wished that a people who had not been used to mental images of the cross and the Saviour should see representations of both. See Inett’s Orig. Angl. I. 256. Spelman, Conc. I. 217.

³⁵ Among the petitions of a Litany in Leofric’s Missal, (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Bodley, 579. f. 267.) we find, accordingly, the following one; *Ut Paganorum sevitiam comprimere digneris.*

³⁶ The existence of English paganism in the reign of Alfred is shewn by the first two of his ecclesiastical laws; the latter of which imposes penalties upon apostates from Christianity, and even upon those who give any encouragement to Gentile superstitions. This second law was soon afterwards renewed by Edward the Elder. That *heathendom*, as it was called, long, however, resisted even these

civil provisions against its continuance, is attested by the forty-seventh among the laws of the Northumbrian priests : a body of canons referred by Spelman to the year 988. or thereabouts. Spelman, Conc. 376, 391, 499. Labb. et Coss. IX. 514, 683, 727.

³⁷ Nīf nanum cūrtenum menn alyfēð þ he hīf hæle gefeccc æt nanum tpeope buzon hīc rý haliz ꝛode-tacn · ne æt nanum rtope buzon hīc rý haliz ꝛoder hūf. Se þe eller ðeð he bezæð untþýlice hæðenzýlð. (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. Ii. —1—33. Ex Hom. in Pass. S. Barth. Ap. p. 175.) *It is not to any Christian men permitted that they seek their health at any tree, unless it be the holy cross ; nor at any place, unless it be God's holy house. He who doth otherwise, he practiseth, undoubtedly, heathenism.* See also the Homily on the Catholic Faith, p. 62.

³⁸ “ Veruntamen literarum et religionis studia ætate procedente obsoleverunt, non paucis ante adventum Normannorum annis. Clerici literatura tumultuaria contenti, vix sacramentorum verba balbutiebant : stupori et miraculo erat cæteris qui grammaticam nosset.” Willelm. Malmesburien. de Willelm. I. inter Scriptores post Bedam. p. 57.

³⁹ That the religious use of images was naturalized to the Anglo-Saxon Church from Italian influence and example, admits of no doubt. The following hymn, which is among the transcripts of Junius in the Bodleian Library, (107. f. 25.) will shew that the invocation of saints likewise was imported into England from Rome.

As it stands in the MS. there is no appearance of metrical order, even in the Latin, and the Saxon is

placed as an interlinear version. An attempt has been made to remedy the former defect, and the same arrangement has been adopted with the Saxon.

“ *Hymnus de Sancto Stephano.*

Sancte Dei pretiose
 Proto-martyr Stephane,
 Qui virtute caritatis
 Circumfultus undique
 Dominum pro inimico
 Exorasti populo ;
 Funde preces pro devoto
 Tibi nunc collegio,
 Ut tuo propitiatus interventu,
 Dominus nos purgatos a peccato
 Jungat cœli civibus.
 Gloria et honor Deo
 Usquequo altissimo,
 Una Patri, Filioque,
 Et inclito Paraclito ;
 Cujus honor et potestas
 Per æterna sæcula.”

Eala þu haliga godes deorpurðe
 Se forma cýðene.
 Ðu þe on mihƿe roðre lufe
 Underpreoðod æghpanone
 Drihten for feonlicum
 Ðu gebæde folce.
 Aȝyot bene for eƿtfullan
 Ðe nu gefýrprædene.
 Ðæt þinre gemiltroð mid þingprædene
 Drihten ur afeormode fram rýnne
 Geðeode heofoner ceartre geparan.

Wulðor 7 purðmýnt ȝode
 Oð ðam hehȝtan.
 Samod fæðer 7 ȝuna
 And þæm æðelan frowor-ȝaȝt.
 Ðær purðmýnt 7 mihȝa
 Ðuph ece ȝopulða.

*O thou holy, precious, God's
 First martyr,
 Thou, who, in might of true love
 Supported on every side,
 The Lord for hostile
 People thou prayedst
 Pour out prayers for a devoted
 Society now to thee,
 That, propitiated by thy intercession,
 The Lord us purified from sin
 May join to the men of heaven's city.
 Glory and honour to God
 Even in the highest
 Both to Father, and Son,
 And the noble Spirit of comfort.
 Whose honour and power
 (Arc) through eternal worlds.*

SERMON V.

ATTRITION.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

IN considering the primitive Church, few things more forcibly strike the mind than the rigour of her penitential discipline. Excessive, however, as this may seem, it was obviously demanded, in a great measure, by the necessities of her situation. Had her children been freely permitted to conceal their holy profession, whenever persecution roamed abroad, a large proportion of them would have been rendered little better than hypocritical dissemblers. Had not their body presented also a picture of the severest virtue, heathen calumny would not ever have been promptly and ignominiously foiled, in seeking to undermine its credit. But happily the “grace” of God was found amply “suffi-

cient ^a” for his faithful people. Their strength was especially manifested, during the very season of their greatest seeming weakness. Our blessed Lord’s earlier disciples “came off more than conquerors,^b” “by the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left, by honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report^c.” Hence it arose mainly, that “the reproach of Christ^d” so quickly wore away, and that the pride of man’s wisdom so readily was humbled before the cross.

When the Gospel had achieved this victory, the confessions, penances, and absolutions of less happy times were still generally retained. It could not indeed have been otherwise than most undesirable, to relax the bands of ecclesiastical discipline, at a time when an immense “mixed multitude^e,” had learned to “pay their vows in the courts of the Lord’s house^f.” Heathen prejudices and malignity, though depressed, were during a long interval by no means extinct. Nor would they have failed of a rapid reappearance in all their former strength, if the now triumphant faith of Christ had become conspicuously disgraced by the moral obliquities of its professors. Another bond of attachment to a system of penitential

^a 2 Cor. xii. 9.

^b Rom. viii. 37.

^c 2 Cor. vi. 7, 8.

^d Heb. xi. 26.

^e Exod. xii. 38.

^f Ps cxxi. 18, 19.

severity may, not improbably, have arisen from those philosophic habits, which, in the second century, found an entrance into the Church^g. An alliance had been gradually formed between Christian theology and Platonic philosophy. Hence it seems by no means unlikely, that divines, when insisting upon ecclesiastical penalties for offences against religious and moral duties, were influenced partly by their academic master's principle of purging the soul through mortifications exacted from the body.

The Christians of ancient Britain, however, were far removed from the refinements of southern Europe, and among them, accordingly, this penitential system appears to have been in a great measure unknown, or at all events disregarded. As a necessary consequence, it was not established in the Anglo-Saxon Church during the earliest stages of her existence¹. Our forefathers, you will bear in mind, were not generally converted, as many would fain represent, by Roman missionaries. The heralds of salvation, who rooted Christianity in most parts of England, were trained in native schools of theology, and were attached firmly to those national usages which had descended to them from periods of the

^g Brucker, Hist. Crit. Lips. 1766. tom. III. p. 278.

most venerable antiquity. Had Augustine, therefore, endeavoured to naturalize, in our island, the penitential discipline prevailing in foreign churches, his success must have been limited by the circumscribed limits within which Romish influence had taken root. But, in truth, neither the first Archbishop of Canterbury nor any one of his earlier successors appears to have made any such attempt. The task was reserved for St. Paul's compatriot, Theodore of Tarsus. That able Asiatic had evidently meditated upon religious discipline more profoundly than any one of his contemporaries. Probably more so, likewise, than any preceding divine. At least, his Penitential is the first known work of the kind; and having had the fortune to attract great attention throughout the west, it gave rise to numerous imitations². Of Theodore's history but few particulars are known. He is, however, expressly, and from no mean authority, styled a philosopher³. Upon the school which afforded him intellectual culture, persons of any learning generally will have no difficulty to decide. In St. Austin's estimation, the Platonics were the chief and noblest of philosophersⁿ. Nor is it likely that Theodore belonged to any other sect. Its principles, therefore, we may reason-

^h De Civ. Dei, lib. IX. c. 1. Opp. tom. VII. col. 219.

ably suppose, affected far from inconsiderably the composition of that celebrated Penitential, which long exercised so powerful an influence over England and over all her continental neighbours.

In ascertaining this position, or even in making it appear very highly probable, occupation for a studious mind, at once interesting and important, might undoubtedly be found. Such an object falls not, however, within the scope of the present undertaking. Nor would it besides embrace that point in known penitential doctrines which is practically most worthy of investigation. There is a certain fear of God essentially carnal, and therefore properly termed *servile*; a fear unconnected with any love of goodness, and flowing only from the dread of punishment. In this, the will to sin is never thoroughly subdued, and transgressions would incessantly and eagerly be repeated, were they not utterly hopeless of impunity. Such apprehension leads to a state of mind technically called *attrition* among scholastic writers posterior to the twelfth century⁴. By these authors and their disciples attrite sinners, confessing their iniquities, and receiving sacerdotal absolution, were consoled by the prospect of reconciliation with an offended God. The council of Trent solemnly

sanctioned this principle; and we are told, from no less authority than its Catechism, that, by means of attrition, the Church is graciously enabled to mitigate the terrors of a guilty conscience upon terms at once easy and secure. When the mind, it is observed, becomes truly sensible of alienation from God, by long familiarity with evil courses, how deep and heart-rending ought to be its contrition! And yet who can say whether any anguish undergone shall have been sufficiently proportioned to the magnitude of iniquity committed⁵? Even the more pious, therefore, might mistake in esteeming their grief and shame for sin sufficient evidences of genuine repentance. As for the great mass of men, who live in stupid forgetfulness of eternity, heedless whither their steps are tending, unmindful of Him “whose they are,” and whom therefore they are bound “to serveⁱ,” intent solely upon enjoying “the pleasures of sin for a season^k,” how shall words paint the miseries of their case, if indeed it be utterly hopeless without true contrition! Well might such sinners doubt, most rationally might surviving relatives apprehend, that the terror and regret which oppressed their spirits, upon the awful verge of another world, were most

ⁱ Acts xxvii. 23.

^k Heb. xi. 25.

incommensurate with that unholiness which had stained their several careers through life. But it could *not* be doubted whether “a certain looking-for of judgement and fiery indignation” had led the dying transgressor to confess his guilt, and to seek for absolution.

Nor do Roman theologians content themselves with speaking thus, “Peace, peace^m,” to the consciences of sinful men. The mortal shaft steals often unperceived upon its victim, allowing not the time for sacerdotal intervention. And shall attrition here be powerless? Shall the Church refuse to mitigate the pangs which have overtaken unexpectedly the miserable child of disobedience? Shall she look with stern severity upon the grief excited among survivors by his awful and perhaps untimely fate? Her aspect is never thus repulsive towards those who listen submissively to her voice. If the attrite sinner were only willing and disposed to undergo the usual course of penitential discipline, had opportunities allowed him, he need not despond, because the act of God renders such disposition unavailable for its proper end. His soul will graciously be freed from “the bitter pains of eternal death,” although no priestly accents are allowed to convey the

^m Jerem. vi. 14.

soothing assurance of forgiveness, no priestly ears to receive the mournful detail of his iniquities⁶. Thus the Church of Rome not only undertakes to secure salvation without true repentance, but her children are also taught, that no individual of their whole community can hardly by any possibility finally miss the beatific vision. For who is there that, in the grasp of death, would not *wish*, at least, for absolution from his sins? Incredibly hard must be the heart, incredibly obtuse the apprehension, of him who would not keenly feel, in such a moment, "It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living Godⁿ." Can we, then, be at any loss for a reason why the Roman Church so extensively enchains the affections of mankind? Had she no other powerful attractions for the human mind, (and she has many,) her doctrine of attrition alone would sufficiently account for a very large portion of her influence. What, indeed, is it, but a full conviction that this doctrine is utterly untenable, which allows any who ever heard of it to turn away from her invitations? In Scripture, however, notoriously and undeniably, it is not contained either expressly or by inevitable implication. Nor, again, will a cautious advocate contend that

ⁿ Heb. x. 31.

it can be collected with any degree of certainty or precision, at least, from the records of ecclesiastical antiquity. Are, then, assurances of safety from attrition, the growth of that age, comparatively recent, when scholastic divinity riveted the admiration of intellectual Europe? By no means, we are told: the schoolmen merely acted by this as by other doctrines of our holy faith. Under their masterly hands, verities, current immemorially in the Church, assumed that exact and technical form which rendered them most useful to the student. This doctrine of attrition, therefore, is an integral portion of that traditional deposit which was intrusted to their successors by the first preachers of Christianity. Now if the case indeed be so, witness must necessarily be borne in its favour by the religious monuments of ancient England. Does it appear, then, from these venerable documents, that among the traditions holden by our Anglo-Saxon fathers, was one, promising safety for the soul through any channel short of true repentance?

By way of throwing light upon this question, it is obviously desirable, as a preliminary step, to discover the leading principle of Anglo-Saxon penitential discipline. The re-

monstrance of a Frankish council, assembled in the ninth century, will probably supply us with a key to the information required. It is maintained by the fathers in this address, that God allows no sin to pass unpunished: hence, that offences unavenged while men remain upon the earth are only reserved for penalties infinitely more severe in a future state⁷. What mind, sufficiently impressed with such an opinion, would not reason, that should angry visitations of Providence fail of afflicting men in due proportion to their ill deserts, common prudence bound them to impose voluntarily upon themselves the just measure of suffering demanded by their moral failures?

The Penitential of Theodore, accordingly, and other compositions of a similar description, embrace every known shade of human transgression, entering into great minuteness of detail; and they affix to each iniquity a definite degree of penance. They are, therefore, codes of criminal jurisprudence, enabling men to decide upon the precise nature of those inflictions here, which a due regard to the happiness of their souls hereafter was considered to exact. Of such provisions, a sufficient knowledge, even in the plainer cases, would be necessarily placed be-

yond the capacities and opportunities of ordinary minds. Instances also could not fail of occurring from time to time, for the due treatment of which, direct information would be vainly sought in any of the standard authorities. Hence the clergy naturally became the established dispensers of penitential discipline; and an accurate acquaintance with its entire principles and provisions, both recorded and inferential, was rendered an important feature in their studies. Obviously, however, they could not reduce to practice their skill in this branch of their profession without a sufficient knowledge of the delinquencies committed by the members, individually, of their several congregations. Auricular confession, at least of the more considerable iniquities, was thus indispensably required. This point of discipline was naturally recommended also, as tending to produce that humiliation which fits the heart for the reception and operation of heavenly grace. It was, therefore, earnestly recommended before communion, especially where men's consciences were disquieted by sins of magnitude⁸. But the principal object of concession was, undoubtedly, no other than to furnish ecclesiastics with that information which the imposition of penance demanded⁹.

All human transgressions were justly viewed as symptomatic of spiritual disease; and the ministers of religion were expected to possess the knowledge requisite for healing these infirmities. Hence they were commonly styled physicians of the soul; and people were urged to lay before them their several violations of religion and morality with no less unreserve than is used in the exposure of bodily disorders to medical attendants. In the latter case, appropriate remedies might happily renovate the physical energies; in the former, duly-apportioned penance was viewed as necessary, or nearly so, for securing the soul from suffering hereafter the penalties of evil deeds committed in the body.

Where sinners had greatly disgraced the Christian name, private inflictions, prescribed merely with reference to the future immunity of their own souls, were not, however, deemed sufficient. Our Anglo-Saxon progenitors, in such cases, removed the scandal away from God's holy congregation by a course of discipline similar to that used among the primitive Christians. The unhappy parties from whom "the offence had come" were desired to prostrate themselves, on Ash-Wednesday, bare-footed, and covered

with sackcloth, at the door of the mother-church, in their several dioceses. Some of the clergy in attendance received them there, enjoined them penances esteemed suitable to their iniquities respectively, and then led them into the house of God, singing the seven penitential psalms. Within the sacred walls the bishop laid his hands upon them, sprinkled them with ashes and lustral-water, covered them with haircloth, and then commanded them to depart from a place dedicated to God's especial honour and service, and therefore polluted by their presence. On Thursday in Passion-week, their several penances having been duly undergone, they presented themselves at the cathedral-gates again. Once more they were now required to suffer the humiliation of confessing those most unholy deeds which had brought so much discredit upon their Christian calling. This being done, the bishop solemnly prayed over them for their heavenly Father's gracious forgiveness, and readmitted them into communion¹⁰. It is plain that the presumed necessity of compensating by proportionate austerities for conspicuous iniquities was not the only aim of those who prescribed this public display of penitence. No doubt it was desired also to preserve such as were merci-

fully called to the knowledge of heavenly truth, “a glorious Church, not having spot, nor wrinkle, nor any such thing^p; but that it should be holy, and without blemish.” The same righteous object manifestly led to those royal ordinances for enforcing penance which occur among enactments of the Anglo-Saxon period¹¹. The sovereign acted in them as Christ’s vicar, who, being “jealous with a godly jealousy^q” for his Master’s honour, would not “bear the sword in vain^r” when the credit of religion was at stake.

Neither a belief, however, in the prudential necessity of apportioning penances to transgressions, nor an anxiety for guarding Christ’s holy Church from injuries to its reputation, would cause competent judges to look upon auricular confession, either in act or in wish, as indispensable for salvation. Even heinous iniquities might be secret; hence entailing no public obloquy upon the Gospel of Jesus. A patient also, sufficiently skilled in medical knowledge, might act successfully as his own physician. Why should not, likewise, a penitent, acquainted competently with divine truth, form sound conclusions as to the terms of his reconciliation

^p Ephes. v. 27.

^q 2 Cor. xi. 2.

^r Rom. xiii. 4.

with an offended God? Obviously such a transgressor might need no recourse to any authorized expositor of religion. Even the principle, too, which exacted compensatory sufferings apportioned to particular offences, required of necessity no sacerdotal intervention. The sinner himself might be versed in the religious jurisprudence of his day. Hence, if his self-love should not interfere, and his firmness could be trusted, he would have no occasion for reference to some regular dispenser of penance. The only reason, indeed, why a party thus informed should have exposed his more secret delinquencies to the observation of a confessor, is of itself penal in its nature. It might have been looked upon as one among the fit and merited results of his unrighteous deeds, that he should be humbled and confounded by the shame of detailing them to a fellow-sinner. But from this view of the case, who would infer the absolute necessity of auricular confession? Nor, again, does it indispensably follow hence, that such confession, if made at all, should be confided only to sacerdotal ears. Upon the whole question, accordingly, great latitude and uncertainty of opinion evidently prevailed. Even Theodore solemnly admits, in cases of necessity, the sufficiency of confession

to God alone¹². Nor does the reason which appears to have been commonly assigned for preferring a priestly confidant amount to any decided condemnation of those who declined a conformity with that prevailing usage. "Confession," says Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, "made to God, blots out sins; and that which is made to man teaches us how they are blotted out. Oftentimes God invisibly heals our evils. Commonly, however, he uses medical agency for that gracious purpose." A Frankish council, assembled early in the ninth century, adopts these very words in treating upon the subject of confession¹³. Nor do the penitential doctrines of our distant ancestry appear ever to have assumed a more restricted character. A rubric, accordingly, occurring in a penitential service, but little anterior, probably, to the Conquest, expressly states, as a matter incapable of denial, that "absolution from mortal sins may be obtained by secret satisfaction¹⁴." A collector of canons also, whose labours are of uncertain date, but not usually referred to any considerable distance from Norman times, again brings Theodulf's capitulars to the notice of Englishmen, and thereby shews that public opinion respecting confession remained unaltered. He thus, necessarily, likewise, in

treating upon the remission of sin, cites a text from the Psalms, encouraging penitents to hope for that inestimable benefit from deep contrition, but affording no ground to expect it through any other channel¹⁵.

An additional reason for concluding that our Anglo-Saxon fathers esteemed not auricular confession sacramental in its nature, and effective for securing the soul, without true repentance, flows from the forms of their absolutions. In the modern Church of Rome individuals are absolved in direct terms immediately after they have confessed their sins, and the sacerdotal voice is considered as an actual conveyance of exemption from the penalties of eternal death¹⁶. We are taught, accordingly, that in absolution the sacrament of penance chiefly consists^s. Now the Church of our distant ancestry, holding the tradition of ecclesiastical antiquity, refused absolution to the more scandalous offenders, until they had accomplished their several penances. Nor even then did her absolving voice amount to any thing beyond a solemn restoration to forfeited privileges, and an earnest prayer to God that he would graciously remit the penitent's iniquities. It is, indeed, a notorious and indisputable fact, that forms of absolu-

^s Bellarm. Controv. II. 248.

tion, entirely precatory, were alone used in the Church during the first Christian millenary¹⁷. At the conclusion of that period there were, indeed, churches which gave to these forms something of an indicative character. But absolutions, decidedly of such a character, did not establish themselves until after the lapse of another three hundred years¹⁸. None such, therefore, are to be found among Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical antiquities. Of precatory forms, however, many yet remain. Our Ante-Norman progenitors never heard, then, from the lips of their clergy any words conveying an absolute assurance of God's pardon. The most solemn absolutions that met their ears amounted to nothing more than public readmissions to church-membership. The less conspicuous absolutions were merely prayers, uttered by the ministers of God's Word and Sacraments, that iniquities, which had humbly been confessed, might be mercifully forgiven¹⁹. Such ritual forms are evidently unsuited to Romish penitential doctrines; and being those alone which antiquity supplies, they have naturally occasioned much embarrassment to theologians in communion with the papal see. What discerning sinner, indeed, attrite only, would suppose himself sufficiently protected from perdition by a prayer

merely deprecating the wrath of a God whom he had not learnt to love, and whom he desired not to obey? What unprejudiced mind will readily believe, that an age which knew no other forms of absolution, expected to reach the beatific vision through any way easier than true contrition?

That no such expectation was encouraged in the Church of ancient England is farther shewn by her obvious ignorance of that principle which relieves Romanists from apprehensions of dying unabsolved. We have not the smallest reason for attributing to our early ancestors a belief in the efficacy of a mere disposition to confess, and a mere wish for absolution, in emergencies allowing not such consolations. On the contrary, a Saxon homily paints unrighteous members of the sacred profession, including even bishops, among the wretched outcasts from God's everlasting kingdom^t. Is it, then, possible, that such children of perdition could have been wholly unacquainted with that *easier* way to salvation which has occupied our attention, had such a prospect of escape been habitually contemplated all around them? Or can it be supposed that they felt no will-

^t See note 36 to Serm. II. p. 119.

ingness to confess their sins, no anxiety for absolution, when upon the very threshold of eternity? Or must we consider these imaginary victims of iniquity as overtaken by their awful fate in the very act of mortal sin? Neither of these two cases appears to have been within the homilist's contemplation. His object was evidently no other than to awaken the apprehensions of worldly-minded men, by painting the horrors which they daily braved by their inveterate forgetfulness of God. Many, now consigned to hopeless anguish, he would represent, had been like the passing generation of sinners, practical infidels and hypocrites, bearing, indeed, the name of Christ, but turning habitually a deaf ear to his commands. No doubt such men had been attrite, whenever their minds were crossed by a thought of that fearful recompense to which their evil deeds exposed them. Probably, too, they had entertained, at intervals, a hasty purpose of amendment on reaching some "convenient season".^u But it had proved, unhappily, that their deep entanglement in the snares of Satan had allowed them no escape from carnal lusts and pleasures, until the very moment when sinking nature said, "Thou fool, thy soul is required of

^u Acts xxiv. 25.

thee^v." Obviously, such a picture is most unlikely to have been traced by the pen of one who reckoned upon salvation from mere attrition.

Another reason for concluding that the Church of ancient England knew nothing of such a principle necessarily flows from her views as to the power of the keys. The principal ministers of religion, in Anglo-Saxon times, were allowed, indeed, ample authority for excommunicating and absolving those who brought scandal on their holy faith. The people were, however, taught expressly, that their spiritual guides, in exercising these important privileges, acted merely as the dispensers of ecclesiastical discipline, and the channels for communicating God's pleasure to mankind. A homilist, accordingly, endeavours to impress these notions upon the popular apprehension by adopting from St. Jerome²⁰ a comparison instituted between the Christian priesthood and the posterity of Aaron. In leprous cases these consecrated members of the great Jewish family were empowered to give sentence for exclusion from society and for restoration to its bosom. To Christian ministers is assigned an authority strictly analogous. They are to cut off from

^v St. Luke xii. 20.

associating with their brethren those who would introduce among them the poisonous contagion of an ill example; and they are solemnly to readmit such offenders, when contrition had subdued their moral taint, and danger, therefore, was no longer apprehended from their vicinage²¹. Now upon no child of Aaron, evidently, depended a release from the plague of leprosy. The priestly family appeared, in Israel, merely as a body expected to possess an accurate knowledge of certain morbid symptoms, and as public functionaries authorized to act judicially upon that knowledge, for the common interest. In like manner clergymen were expected to study Scripture and other sources of professional information. They were expected also to keep a strict watch over the members of their several congregations, in order that none should be consoled by the customary forms of absolution who had not shewn unequivocal signs of true contrition²². The sacerdotal voice was thus placed exactly upon a level with that of a physician when he pronounces upon the health or sickness of a patient. Who will suppose that unusual facilities for effecting the natural man's reconciliation with an offended God were in the contemplation of those who placed the Chris-

tian priesthood in such a light? It is, indeed, worthy of remark, that this very analogy between the Jewish and Christian priesthoods was revived at the time of the Reformation, as affording a sound view of absolution. It was urged in argument against the scholastic doctrine of attrition by the self-devoted Tyndale; in early life a conspicuous ornament to this venerable and illustrious University, afterwards a laborious translator of holy Scripture into his native tongue, and eventually a martyr to the cause he loved.

Thus it was broadly maintained in the Anglo-Saxon Church, that sacerdotal authority affects only men's relations with each other. Of a belief in its efficacy to secure the soul, without true contrition, the monuments of our distant ancestry afford no trace whatever. Their homilies, indeed, inculcate unequivocally, that absolution, unless accompanied by a real change of heart and life, is nothing better than a delusive mockery. The divines of ancient England, therefore, attributed not to the keys any power enabling ecclesiastics to admit into the kingdom of heaven such as, feeling no affection for its almighty Sovereign, and "hating to be reformed," were contented, notwithstanding, to propitiate his wrath by certain external tributes

of respect. The absolutions of our distant ancestry were never such as to lull into a false security even the most careless and sanguine among sinners. Their confessions were nothing of a sacramental guise, but were evidently prescribed with no other view than to fill the soul with humility, apportion to each transgression the penalty which it was considered to demand, and guard the holy Church of God from scandal²³. The whole penitential system of Anglo-Saxon times bears testimony, therefore, against that tradition of the Roman Church, to which her priesthood chiefly owes its influence over mankind. For aught that appears among England's most venerable ecclesiastical antiquities, the boasted and fascinating doctrine of an easier way to eternal salvation, through attrition, may be little or nothing older than that term itself. Infinitely agreeable, then, as that doctrine must ever be to the corrupt and procrastinating habits of human nature, a prudential regard for their eternal welfare loudly and plainly warns men against entertaining it. Assuredly, were it a divine or apostolical tradition, current and admitted, therefore, immemorially in the Church of Christ, our own country's earliest theological remains would not absolutely refuse their testimony in its favour.

Their extent is amply sufficient for the purpose; and yet their whole tenour, and very many of their direct admonitions also, unreservedly proclaim their authors to have known nothing of any safety for the soul of him who had not felt the pangs of true contrition.

To this point your attention has almost exclusively been directed in the present discourse, because upon it really turns all that is practically of much importance in questions relating to confession and absolution. It concerns, indeed, a liberal curiosity to investigate the origin, principle, and details of the religious discipline prevailing in the Church at any particular period. Scholastic divinity and the Trentine Fathers have, however, detracted greatly from the value of such inquiries, unless conducted especially with reference to that remarkable and attractive system, designated among Romanists as the sacrament of Penance. In this system attrition is the mark for observation. Have certain acts, termed sacramental, the privilege of reconciling an offended God to those who, loving neither him nor his perfections, yet find themselves unable to escape apprehensions of his vengeance? Romanists maintain the affirmative of this question; Protestants, the negative. Here, then, is issue joined by

the two contending parties. Nor will Protestants, arguing upon confession and absolution, act discreetly in allowing themselves to be seduced from this position. Unless the voice of holy Scripture, and the plain, universal, uninterrupted tradition of the Church, promise safety to the souls of sinners merely attrite, indeed, but yet anxious for sacerdotal intervention, a doctrine has undeniably been maintained in the last and most distinctive of Romish councils unsound in principle and ruinous in practice. Until also Protestant branches of the great Christian family are proved to make the promise of salvation without genuine contrition, their views of absolution must be pronounced widely different from those of papal Rome.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SERMON V.

¹ **THIS** has been inferred from the following passage, relating to the great winter fast, occurring in archbishop Egbert's *Dialogue*. "Nam hæc, Deo gratias, a temporibus Vitaliani papæ, et Theodori Dorobernensis archiepiscopi inolevit in Ecclesia Anglorum consuetudo, et quasi legitima tenebatur, ut non solum clerici in monasteriis, sed etiam laici cum conjugibus et familiis suis ad confessores suos pervenirent, et se fletibus et carnalis concupiscentiæ consortio his duodecim diebus cum eleemosynarum largitione mundarent; quatenus puriores Dominicæ communionis perceptionem in natale Domini perciperent." (Labb. et Coss. VI. 1610. Inett's *Orig. Anglic.* I. 85.) De Sponde thus treats this testimony of the ancient British Church against the Romish sacrament of penance: "Scripsit" (Alcuinus sc.) "ad Scotos adversus zizania illa pessima, quæ apud illos tunc primum seminari cœperant, hoc vero nostro sæculo densa segete Boreales omnes pene provincias occuparunt; quibus affirmaretur illud infaustum hactenus inauditum ostentum, confessionem peccatorum non esse faciendam sacerdotibus, sed soli Deo: quæ zizania eadem illa epistola idem vir sanctissimus atque doctissimus, ita præcidit, immo convulsit radicitus, ut amplius visa non

fuerint, nec audita.” (Annal. Eccl. Baronii, in Epitomen redacti, Opera H. Spondani, sub an. 778. Mogunt. 1623. p. 166.) The passage to which the learned epitomiser (who certainly writes with all the zeal of a convert) refers is this: “Dicitur vero neminem ex laicis suam velle confessionem sacerdotibus dare, quos a Deo Christo cum sanctis apostolis ligandi solvendique potestatem accepisse credimus. Quid solvit sacerdotalis potestas, si vincula non considerat ligati? Cessabunt opera medici si vulnera non ostendunt ægroti. Si vulnera corporis carnalis medici manus expectant, quanto magis vulnera animæ spiritualis medici solatia deposcunt?” Alcuini Epist. 71. *Dilectissimis Viris Fratribus et Patribus in Provincia Gothorum*. Alc. Opp. col. 1594. The true reading in this superscription is undoubtedly *Scottorum*, as De Sponde understands it, although Alcuin’s editor dissents.

² “Omnium quippe quæ in Occidente extiterunt Pœnitentialium, antiquissimum est et celeberrimum; (Theodori Pœnitentiale, sc.) ad cujus instar Venerabilis Bedæ Pœnitentiale, Romanum, Egberti Eboracensis, cetera denique composita sunt.” (Jac. Petit. Præf. in Theod. Pœnit. Lutet. Par. 1677.) “Pope Vitalian, within less than seventy years after Augustine, consecrated Theodore, a Greek by birth, who had spent the greater part of his life at Rome, and sent him to be archbishop of Canterbury. This was not taken as if the Pope had imposed a primate upon us, but as a proof of Vitalian’s care and affection for the Church of England, and as a public blessing to the nation, for Theodore was certainly a person of as great abilities as any of his age; and the kings of Kent and Northumberland were con-

sending to what the Pope did." *A Collection of all the Eccl. Laws, &c. concerning the Church of England*, by J. Johnson, pref. p. xxi.

³ " Nam et epistola, quam idem Agatho (Papa sc.) sextæ synodo apud Constantinopolim congregatæ direxit, hujus sermonis testimonio assistit, et mecum facit, in qua, inter cætera dicit, *Sperabamus deinde de Brittannia Theodorum confamulum atque coepiscopum nostrum, magnæ insulæ Brittanniæ archiepiscopum, et philosophum, cum aliis, qui ibidem hactenus demorantur, exinde ad humilitatem nostram conjungere, et hac causa huc usque concilium distulimus.*" Willelmi Malmesburiensis de Gestis Pontificum Anglorum, lib. I. inter Scriptores post Bedam, p. 112.

⁴ " Cum igitur apud antiquos illos scholasticos, magistro et ipsius discipulis ab ipso viva voce edocitis, immediate succedentes, ratum esse contritionem justificationis et gratiæ gratum facientis esse pedisequam, nomen illis excogitandum fuit quo præparationes ad gratiam gratum facientem suscipiendam notare et indigitare possent. Hactenus enim contritione cordis et compunctione potissimum significatæ fuerant. Certum enim et exploratum erat apud eos, justificationem formalem, licet in instanti fieret, multis tamen præparationibus et longo tempore opus esse ad formam illam inducendam, aliterque ut fieret raro contingere. Nomen illud fuit *attritio*, quæ hæc omnia complexi sunt: illo ut jam in scholis vulgo utuntur Alexander Halensis, Guilielmus Parisiensis, et Albertus Magnus, et posteriorum nemo illud præteriit. Nonnulli tamen eodem tempore illud aut non cognoverunt, aut neglexerunt.

Sed auctorum qui hos antecesserunt nullus mihi cognitus attritionem commemoravit, licet easdem cum his quæstiones agitent. Itaque nomen illud in scholis vulgari cœpit post annum 1220. centum et paucissimis annis post natam scholasticam.

“XV. Sic autem attritionem inter et contritionem distinguebant, ut attritionem dicerent ex fide informi nasci, contritionem ex fide formata, *attritionis principium esse timorem servilem*, contritionis timorem initialem: attritionis causas esse auxilia gratiæ, seu gratias gratis datas, contritionis vero gratiam gratum facientem. Hinc omnem dolorem de peccato, Deique amorem in non habente gratiam attritioni tribuerunt, in habente gratiam contritioni. Attamen eo usque devenerunt antiquorum scholasticorum permulti, qui post tempus adnotatum scripserunt, ut disertissime, tanquam ab omnibus concessum assumerent, omnia opera ab auxiliis Spiritus S. hominem moventis et impellentis ante gratiæ gratum facientis influxum procedentia, naturalibus, mortuis, et ingratuitis, ut ipsi loquuntur, esse annumeranda: sola vero opera habitum gratiæ consequentia, supernaturalibus, vivis, et gratuitis, præmiique æterni meritoriis.” (Morini Commentarius Historicus de Disciplina Pœnitentiæ, Par. 1651. p. 506.)

“In corporalibus dicuntur attrita, quæ aliquo modo diminuta sunt, sed non adhuc perfecte sunt comminuta. Sed contrita dicuntur quando omnes partes tritæ sunt simul, per divisionem ad minima. Et ideo attritio significat in spiritualibus quandam displicentiam de peccatis commissis, sed non perfectam: contritio autem perfectam.—Differt enim

contritio ab attritione, sicut formatum ab informi." Supplem. III. P. Sum. Theol. S. Thom. Aquin. Quæst. I. artt. 2, 3.

⁵ "XLVI. Primo itaque docendum est confessionis institutionem nobis summo opere utilem, atque ideo necessarium fuisse. Ut enim hoc concedamus contritione peccata deleri, quis ignorat illam adeo vehementem, acrem, incensam esse oportere, ut doloris acerbitas, cum scelerum magnitudine æquari, conferrique possit: At quoniam pauci admodum ad hunc gradum pervenirent, fiebat etiam ut a paucissimis hac via peccatorum venia speranda esset. *Quare necesse fuit, ut clementissimus Dominus faciliiori ratione communi hominum saluti consulere*, quod quidem admirabili consilio effecit, cum claves regni cœlestis Ecclesiæ tradidit.

"XLVII. Etenim ex fidei Catholicæ doctrina omnibus credendum, et constanter affirmandum est; si quis ita animo affectus sit, ut peccata admissa doleat, simulque in posterum non peccare constituat; etsi ejusmodi dolore non afficiatur, qui ad impetrandam veniam satis esse possit: ei tamen cum peccata sacerdoti rite confessus fuerit, vi clavium scelera omnia remitti, ac condonari: ut merito a sanctissimis viris Patribus nostris celebratum sit Ecclesiæ clavibus aditum in cœlum aperiri: de quo nemini dubitare fas est, cum a Florentino Concilio decreto legamus, pœnitentiæ effectum esse absolutionem a peccatis." (Catechism. Roman. ex Decret. Conc. Trid. et Pii V. Pont. Max. jussu edit. Pars II. cc. 46, 47. Lovan. 1662. pp. 249, 250.)

"Illi" (scholastici, sc.) "nimirum spectant illud Evangelicum: *Arundinem quassatam non confringet, et linum fumigans non extinguet*. Condescen-

dunt itaque misericorditer infirmitatibus peccatorum, *ac propterea viam struunt faciliorem et certior*em quo poterunt ad alliciendos in rectam semitam peccatores. Quoniam igitur via contritionis, seu attritionis formatae, non minus est dura, quam incerta peccatoribus, ideirco *viam hanc alteram, per sacramentorum susceptionem, multo mitiorem et securiorem docent*, utpote ob quam nihil exigitur, nisi ut non ponatur obex, vel infidelitatis, vel peccati mortalis." Joan. Fisher Roffens. Ep. adv. Luther. Art. I. Opp. Wirecb. 1597. p. 339.

⁶ "Dico ergo, peccata remitti per hoc sacramentum in voto, quia hoc sacramentum ita nunc est institutum ut ejus susceptio pertineat ad integram dispositionem, seu satisfactionem, ex parte nostra necessariam ad remissionem peccati: nam hinc fit ut quamvis remittatur peccatum existente sola contritione, semper id fiat in ordine ad confessionem." (Disputationum in 3. P. Div. Thom. Autore P. D. F. Suarez. e Soc. Jes. Lugdun. 1603. tom. IV. p. 272.) "Tertia expositio est Caietani dict. q. 84. art. 1. qui distinguit triplicem attritionem. Una est, quæ cum voto sacramenti, ante illum in re susceptum sufficit ad justificationem, et tanta est, inquit, ut ex voto sacramenti fiat contritio." Ibid. p. 284.

⁷ "Sunt enim nonnulli, qui propterea hæc tam temere loquuntur, et in barathrum cupiditatum suarum miserabiliter labuntur, eo quod divinarum præceptorum transgressores, sanctæque Dei Ecclesiæ dehonoratores atque expoliatores non continuo puniantur: non animadvertentes, neque animadvertere volentes, quod *Deus nullum peccatum inultum dimissurus sit*." (Epist. Synod. Aquisgran. II. ad

Pippinum. c. I. (A. D. 836.) Labb. et Coss. VII. 1729.

⁸ Ne ænig man mið unandettan heafod leah-
trum hurles ne abyrges· ac andette ⁊ bete ær he
hures ðicege. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 99. Lupi
Episc. Hom. f. 41.) *Let no man with unconfessed
heavy sins taste the Eucharist, but let him confess
and amend ere he take the Eucharist.* Bishop
Lupus lived at the beginning of the eleventh cen-
tury.

⁹ Donne man to his gesepte gange þænne sceal
he mið gese micelan godes ege· ⁊ mið micelre
eaðmodnýrre beofoþan him hine geseþne aþenian·
⁊ hine biððan pepende seþne þ he him dæd-bote
tæce þara gylta þe he ongear godes willan gedon
hæbbe· ⁊ he sceal him andettan his misdæda þ
se sacerð wite hwilce dæd-bote he him tæcan
sceale. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 3.
f. 94.) *When a man goes to his confessor, then
shall he, with very great fear of God, and with
great humility, prostrate himself before him, and
pray him, with weeping voice, that he would teach
him the satisfaction of the guiltinesses which he has
done against God's will; and he shall confess to
him his misdeeds, that the priest may know what
satisfaction he shall teach him.* See also the 30th
inter Capitula Incertæ Editionis. Spelman. Conc.
I. 605. Bed. Eccl. Hist. IV. 25. in edit. Wheloc. p.
336.

¹⁰ “Capit. XI. *Ut in capite jejunii omnes pub-
lice pœnitentes in civitate veniant ante fores eccle-
siæ nudis pedibus, et cilicio induti Episcopo suo se
repræsentent.*—In capite quadragesimæ omnes pœ-
nitentes qui publicam suscipiunt, aut susceperunt,

pœnitentiam, ante fores ecclesiæ se repræsentent Episcopo sacco induti, vultibus in terram prostratis, reos se esse ipso habitu et vultu proclamantes. Ibi adesse debent archipresbyteri parochiarum, id est, presbyteri pœnitentium, qui eorum conversationem diligenter inspicere debent: et secundum modum culpæ pœnitentiam per præfixos gradus injungant. Post hæc in Ecclesiam eos introducat, et cum omni clero septem pœnitentiales psalmos in terram prostratus, cum lachrymis pro eorum absolutione decantet. Tunc resurgens ab oratione, juxta quod canones jubent, manus eis imponat, aquam benedictam super eos spargat, cinerem prius mittat. Deinde cilicio capita eorum cooperiat, et cum gemitu, et crebris suspiriis eis denuntiet: quod sicut Adam projectus est de paradiso, ita et ipsi pro peccatis ab Ecclesia abjiciuntur. Post hæc jubeat ministris, ut eos extra januam Ecclesiæ expellant. Clerus vero prosequitur eos cum responsorio, *In sudore vultus tui &c.* Ut videntes sanctam Ecclesiam pro facinoribus suis tremefactam atque commotam, non parvipendant pœnitentiam. In sacra autem Domini Cœna rursus ab eorum presbyteris Ecclesiæ luminibus repræsentur.” (Capitula Theodori Archiep. Cantuar. ex edit. Jac. Petit. p. 21.) See also Du Pin’s New Eccl. Hist. VI. 47.

¹¹ In the first among king Alfred’s ecclesiastical laws, which is against the wilful violation of solemn engagements justly and lawfully contracted, it is decreed, that every such violator should be detained forty days in the king’s prison, and *ðþopize þær rpa birceop him rcepe suffer there, as the bishop shall shrive him.* (i. e. enjoin him, upon his confession.)

The seventh among Æthelstan's ecclesiastical laws denies Christian burial to any person, convicted of perjury, unless he have given satisfaction, *i. e.* done penance for his offence, according to the directions of his confessor, *ƿpa his ƿenigt him ƿƿipe as his shriver has shriven him*, and his *ƿenigt shriver* have certified, within thirty nights, to the bishop, that he is willing to give satisfaction. If a perjurer should have failed to obey the directions of his ordinary priest within that time, the bishop was to decide upon his penance.

The third of Edgar's ecclesiastical laws restrains any one of the king's household, who might have shed a Christian's blood, from appearing in the royal presence *ere he has done penance, as the bishop may have taught him, and his confessor directed him*. Spelman, Conc. 365, 400, 420.

¹² “*Capitula collecta ex fragmentis*.”

Cap. 35. Confessio Deo soli, si necesse est, agi licet.” Pœnitentiale Theodori, Archiep. Cantuar. Lut. Par. 1677. tom. I. p. 47.

This canon gave naturally considerable offence, on its publication, to those who were zealous for the Romish sacrament of penance, and Theodore's authority was accordingly treated in such quarters rather contemptuously. His editor, M. Petit, however, justifies him satisfactorily from the charge of innovation, in a second volume which he eventually published.

¹³ “XXXIII. Quidam Deo solummodo confiteri debere dicunt peccata, quidam vero sacerdotibus confitenda esse percensent: quod utrumque non sine magno fructu intra sanctam fit ecclesiam. Ita dumtaxat ut et Deo, qui remissor est peccatorum,

confiteamur peccata nostra, et cum David dicamus, *Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et injustitiam meam non abscondi. Dixi, Confitebor adversum me injustitias meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei*: et secundum institutionem Apostoli, *Confiteamur altere utrumque peccata nostra, et oremus pro invicem ut salvemur*. Confessio itaque quæ Deo fit purgat peccata; ea vero quæ sacerdoti fit, docet qualiter ipsa purgentur peccata. Deus namque salutis et sanitatis auctor et largitor, plerumque hanc præbet suæ potentiae invisibili administratione, plerumque medicorum operatione.” Conc. Cabilon. II. (A. D. 813.) Labb. et Coss. VII. 1279.

¹⁴ “ Nam secreta satisfactione solvi mortalia crimina non negamus. Cotidiana vero levique peccata, sine quibus hæc vita non ducitur, dominica oratione purgantur, quorum est dicere, *Dimitte nobis, sicut et nos dimittimus*.” Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, C. I. f. 144.

¹⁵ *Seventhly, through penitence, (dædbote,) as David saith, I am turned in my sorrow, when my back is broken: as if he said, So soon as I give over my pride and my vices, and accomplish repentance and satisfaction for them, (7 heopa hneorunge 7 dædbote do,) before God, so have I forgiveness.* (Capit. incert. edit. c. 37. Spelman, Conc. p. 612.) These canons are taken from the Capitulars of Theodulf, bishop of Orleans. The passage cited from David here is the latter clause in the fourth verse of the thirty-second Psalm, rendered in our authorized version, “ My moisture is turned into the drought of summer.” (*Conversus est succus meus in siccitatem æstivam*. Vulg. Venet. 1542.

tom. II. p. 26.) In Spelman's Anglo-Saxon Psalter this Psalm is the thirty-first, and the Latin stands thus, "Conversus sum in ærumna mea, dum configitur spina." This translation, probably, comes from the old Italic version, and is intended as a counterpart of the Septuagint, Ἐστράφην εἰς ταλαιπωρίαν ἐν τῷ ἐμπαγγῆναι ἄκανθαν. (Ps. xxxi. 4.) A literal translation of the Saxon is given above. The original is this: Ic beo gecýrpeð on minre ýrmðe þonne me bið toþrocen ƿe hƿýcz. In the former half of these words, Spelman's Psalter exhibits the following variations: Gecýrpeð ic eom on aƷnýrƿe min. The meaning, however, is the same with that of the words cited before from Spelman's Councils. These words stand in the last clause of a passage taken from Origen, detailing the seven remedies for sin. The following is Origen's own account of these remedies. "Audi nunc quantæ sint remissiones peccatorum in Evangeliiis. Est ista prima qua baptizamur in remissionem peccatorum. Secunda remissio est in passione martyrii. Tertia est, quæ pro eleemosyna datur. Dicit enim Salvator: *Veruntamen date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis.* Quarta nobis fit remissio peccatorum per hoc quod et nos remittimus peccata fratribus nostris. Sic enim dicit ipse Dominus et Salvator noster: *Quia si dimiseritis fratribus vestris ex corde peccata ipsorum, et vobis remittet Pater vester peccata vestra. Quod si non remiseritis fratribus vestris ex corde, nec vobis remittet Pater vester:* et sicut in oratione nos dicere docuit, *Remitte nobis debita nostra, sicut et nos remittimus debitoribus nostris.* Quinta remissio peccatorum est cum converterit quis peccatorem ab errore viæ

suæ. Ita enim dicit Scriptura divina, *Quia qui converti fecerit peccatorem ab errore viæ suæ, salvat animam ejus a morte, et cooperit multitudinem peccatorum.* Sexta quoque fit remissio per abundantiam charitatis, sicut et ipse Dominus dicit, *Amen, dico tibi, remittuntur ei peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum:* et Apostolus dicit, *Quoniam charitas cooperit multitudinem peccatorum.* Est adhuc et septima, licet dura et laboriosa, per pœnitentiam, remissio peccatorum, cum lavat peccator in lacrymis stratum suum, et fiunt ei lacrymæ suæ panes, die ac nocte, et cum non erubescit sacerdoti Domini judicare peccatum suum, et quærere medicinam, secundum eum qui ait: *Dixi pronunciabo adversum me injustitiam meam Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem cordis mei.* In quo impletur et illud, quod Apostolus dicit, *Si quis autem infirmatur, vocet presbyteros Ecclesiæ, et imponant ei manus, ungentes eum oleo in nomine Domini, et oratio fidei salvabit infirmum, et si in peccatis fuerit, remittentur ei.* Orig. Hom. 2. in Levit. Opp. Paris. 1604. tom. I. p. 68.

¹⁶ “ Hoc autem interest, inter actionem pœnitentiæ, seu exomologesin veteribus usitatam, et eam quæ nunc usu recepta est, quod olim, nisi, his operibus ab ecclesiæ præfecto injunctis rite peractis, absolutio, et reconciliatio, et communionis jus, per manus impositionem non concedebatur, ut ex multis Tertulliani, et Cypriani locis constat: itaque actiones illæ pœnitentiæ, cum ex fide, et animo vere dolente, et afflatu Spiritus Sancti, auxilio gratiæ divinæ hominis animum prævenientis fierent, ad remissionem quoque peccati impetrandam, et Dei offensam placandam valere putabantur, non quod

eam dignitate sua mererentur, sed quod iis animus hominis ad gratiæ divinæ susceptionem præpararetur, quo modo de operibus præparatoriis supra dictum est. Hodie vero statim, a facta confessione, manus pœnitenti imponitur, et ad communionis jus admittitur, et post absolutionem opera aliqua pietatis, quæ ad carnis castigationem et reliquiarum peccati expurgationem faciant, injunguntur; quod ipsum utiliter fieri potest, si periti Ecclesiæ ministri opera adhibeatur: de quo satisfactionis genere, Scholastici constanter docuere eam non rite fieri, nisi gratiam et remissionem culpæ ac pœnæ æternæ consequatur, quæ remissio fiat solo merito Christi, et ministerio sacerdotis, eamque satisfactionem potissimum valere ad pœnas temporarias mitigandas, et reliquias peccati, ut diximus, expurgandas. Unde est illud Scholasticorum axioma: Nulla est satisfactio nisi præcesserit condonatio." Georgii Casandri De Articulis Religiosis inter Catholicos et Protestantes Controversis Consultatio. Art. 12. De Confessione. Opp. Paris. 1616. p. 948.

¹⁷ " Formulam ordinariam absolutionis, sive reconciliationis pœnitentium, fuisse deprecatoriam, testantur quotquot hactenus legi, aut relata audivi antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ monumenta, ad annum usque salutis ducentesium supra millesimum." Morin. de Poenit. p. 529.

¹⁸ " Ex iisdem quoque ritualibus colligitur post annum millesimum, paulo plus minusve, quasdam ecclesias aliquid indicativum uni formulæ deprecatoriæ a plurimis ejusdem generis inserere cœpisse, quod tamen ad reconciliationis substantiam ex eorum sententia et usu non pertinebat. Absolutionis insuper nomen, sive pura puta esset deprecatoria,

sive aliquid indicativum haberet admistum, de iis precibus et psalmis nonnunquam posterioribus seculis usurpari quæ ad reconciliationem pœnitentium substantialiter non spectabant. Denique deprecatorias formulas longe ultra trecentesium annum supra millesimum in multis celebribus ecclesiis continuatas esse." Morinus de Pœn. p. 546.

¹⁹ The following penitential service is extracted from one of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. (Tiberius, A. 3. f. 43.)

Man mot hine gebiddan swa swa he mæg 7 can mid ælcum gereorde. 7 on ælcefe stowe. Nu is her on englisc andetnýrr 7 gebed. Ac se þe his synzan wylle. ne secge he na mare on þære andetnýrre þonne he wýrcende wæs. forðon þe ure hælend nele þ man on hine sylfne leoge. ne eac ealle menn on ane synzan synzað.

Ic eom andetta ælmihtigum gode. 7 eac minum scrifte ealle þa synna þe me æfre awyrgeðe gartar on beymten habbað. oððe on þigene. 7 on æt-hryne. on googode. on ylde. witende 7 nitende. willende 7 nellende. on gerundfulnýrre. 7 on pan-halnerre. þe ic on gean godes willen gewemmede. Gewitnerre ic behate. 7 æfter þinre tæcinga dædbetan wylle. gif me her fruma fyrfter geunnan wille. Ic bidde þe eadmodlice þe min gartlica lareow eart þ þu me fore bringie. 7 æt minre drihtnes þrym-retle on domes-dæge minre andetnýrra gewita sy.

A man ought to pray to him as he may and can, with every language, and in every place. Now is here, in English, a confession and prayer. But he who wishes to sing (say) this, let him say no more in the confession than he has done, because

our Saviour wills not that one should lie against himself; nor also do all men sin in one wise.

I am a confessor to almighty God, and also to my shriver, of all the sins with which malignant spirits have ever polluted me, both in eating and in touching, in youth, in age, knowing and ignorant, willing and unwilling, in soundness and in sickness, which I have committed against God's will. A cessation I promise, and will do penance, (or make reparation,) after thy teaching, if space of life will allow me. I pray thee humbly, who art my ghostly teacher, that thou wouldest intercede for me, and at my Lord's throne, on doomsday, be a witness of my confession.

“ Domine Jesu Christe, tibi flecto genua mea, tibi corde credo, tibi confiteor peccata mea, misere mihi miserrimo peccatori.

“ Supplico te Dei sacerdos, te præsul, ut de his omnibus sis mihi testis in die judicii, ne gaudeat de me inimicus meus: et misericorditer pro me Dei clementiam deprecare, ut donet mihi veniam et indulgentiam omnium peccatorum meorum, et perducere me faciat ad æternam gloriam.

“ Misereatur tui omnipotens Deus, frater N. et dimittat tibi omnia peccata tua, et tribuat tibi veram humilitatem, veramque patientiam, sobrietatem, atque tollerantiam, bonum finem, bonamque perseverantiam. Amen.

“ Benedicat te quoque, frater, Deus Pater, sancte Deus Filius, inluminet te Spiritus Sanctus. Indulgeat tibi Dominus omnia peccata tua præterrita, præsentia, et futura, et donet tibi possidere bona invisibilia per infinita seculorum secula. Amen.

“ *Pater noster. Sed libera nos a malo.* Con-

verte nos Deus salutaris noster, et averte iram tuam a nobis. Convertere Domine usquequo, et deprecabilis esto super servos tuos. *Adjutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.* Fiat misericordia tua, Domine, super nos. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

“ Clamantes ad te, Deus, dignanter exaudi, ut nos de profundo iniquitatis eripias, et ad gaudia æterna perducas : per :

“ Exaudi, quæsumus, Domine, supplicum preces, et confitentium tibi parce peccatis, ut pariter nobis indulgentiam tribuas, benignus, et pacem : per :

“ Deus infinitæ misericordiæ, et majestatis immensæ famulum tuum N. de tua benedictione obsecro ut benedicas, et omnia ejus peccata dimittas, ut sub ope dexteræ tuæ, ut quicquid juste expetit desiderio celeri consequatur effectu : per Dom.

“ *Et postea dicat sacerdos cui confessus est peccata sua ante altare, dicens, Deverte ab omni malo, usque in finem. Et postea hæc recedat humiliter in domum suam orans, et custodiens mandata sacerdotis.*”

A longer form of confession, but without the Latin prayers, given above, may be seen in Spelman's Councils, 458.

In the same Cottonian MS. that has furnished the foregoing service, occurs the following absolution. (f. 53.) “ Præveniat hunc famulum tuum, quæsumus, Domine, misericordia tua, ut omnes iniquitates ejus celeri indulgentia deleantur : per.”

The following absolution for the sick is extracted from another of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum. (Tiberius, C. 1. f. 147.)

“ REMISSIO SVPER INFIRMVM.

“ Domine, Jesu Christe, vita et salus in te sperantium, qui paraliticum propter peccata infirmitate detentum, eisdem dimissis, surgere et lectum suum tollere, atque sanum in domum suam abire jussisti, tu clemens et misericors hunc famulum tuum nobis peccatoribus numerositatem peccatorum suorum confessum ipsis dignanter absolvere et indulgentia tua saluum facere, et domum orationis ac laudationis tuæ sanum repræsentare dignare: qui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto vivis et regnas per infinita secula seculorum. Am.”

In a MS. Pontifical, in the public library at Cambridge, supposed to be of the thirteenth century, is the following absolution. (Ll. 2—10.)

“ Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.”

Another MS. Pontifical, in the same library, (Ee. 2, 3.) described in Nasmith’s catalogue, as “*Codex membranaceus ante quinquenos annos scriptus*,” has the two following absolutions; the former in a service entitled, “*Ordo ad dandam pœnitentiam in capite jejunii; Feria IIII. quæ Caput jejunii vocatur*,” the latter, in the form for reconciling penitents.

1. “ Absolvimus te vice beati Petri, Apostolorum principis, cui Dominus potestatem ligandi atque solvendi dedit; et quantum ad te pertinet accusatio, et ad nos remissio, sit tibi omnipotens Deus vita et salus, atque omnibus peccatis tuis indultor. Qui vivit:

“ Omnipotens Deus qui dixit, *Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram*

Patre meo, ipse te benedicat, atque custodiat, semper, detque tibi remissionem omnium peccatorum tuorum, et vitam æternam. Amen.

2 “ Dominus Jesus Christus, qui dixit discipulis suis, *Quæcunque ligaveritis super terram erunt ligata et in cœlis, et quæcunque solveritis super terram erunt soluta et in cœlis*, de quorum numero quamvis me indignum et peccatorem ministrum tamen esse voluit : intercedente Dei genetrice Maria, et beato Michael, archangelo, et sancto Petro, apostolo, cui data est potestas ligandi atque solvendi, egregioque Johanne, Evangelista, venerandoque Stephano, prothomartyre, et omnibus sanctis : ipse vos absolvat per ministerium nostrum ab omnibus peccatis vestris, quæcunque aut cogitatione, aut locutione, aut operatione, negligenter egistis ; atque a vinculis peccatorum vestrorum absolutos perducere dignetur ad regnum cœlorum. Qui vivit :

“ Absolutionem et remissionem omnium peccatorum vestrorum tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. Amen.”

To these penitential forms may be added the following precatory confession to God, from archbishop Parker’s MSS. in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. (Portiforium Oswaldi, CCCXCI.)

“ *Confessio Pura.*

“ Confitebor tibi, Domine, omnia peccata mea quæcunque feci omnibus diebus vitæ meæ. Deus, qui creasti omnia, tu nosti peccata mea, indulge me, quia nimium peccavi tibi, Domine miserere mei per intercessionem omnium sanctorum angelorum atque archangelorum : miserere mei, Domine, per intercessionem apostolorum, martyrum, et confes-

sorum, simulque virginum. Te deprecor, Domine, miserere mei. Domine, si in te peccavi tamen te non negavi, nec te dereliqui, deos alienos non adoravi. Domine, veniam peto a te pro omnibus culpis meis. Pius Deus, sanctus Deus, tibi confiteor peccata mea, quia crimina agnosco in me. Deus, propitius esto mihi peccatori, famulo tuo. Non me deseras, neque derelinquas. Domine miserere mei. Pius Deus, sanctus Deus, sanctus fortis, sanctus et immortalis, misericors Deus, clementissime Pater, adjuva me. Da mihi cor quod te timeat, sensum qui te intelligat, oculos qui te videant, aures quæ te audiant, nares quæ odorem tuum suscipiant. Domine, mollifica cor meum durum et lapideum, quia sum cinis, mortuusque. Salva me dormientem, custodi me vigilantem, ut dormiam in pace, et vigilem in Christo. Amen."

²⁰ " *Et tibi dabo claves regni cælorum; et quodcunque, &c.* Istum locum episcopi et presbyteri non intelligentes, aliquid sibi de Pharisæorum assumunt supercilio, ut vel damnent innocentes, vel solvere se noxios arbitrentur: cum apud Deum non sententia sacerdotum, sed reorum vita quæretur. Legimus in Levitico de leprosis: ubi jubentur, ut ostendant se sacerdotibus, et si lepram habuerint, tunc a sacerdote immundi fiant; non quo sacerdotes leprosos faciant et immundos, sed quo habeant notitiam leprosi et non leprosi, et possint discernere qui mundus quive immundus sit. *Quomodo ergo ibi leprosum sacerdos mundum vel immundum facit, sic et hic alligat vel solvit episcopus et presbyter:* non eos qui insontes sunt vel noxii, sed pro officio suo, cum peccatorum audierit varietates, scit qui ligandus sit, quive solvendus." Divi Hieronymi

Stridonensis Opp. tom. VI. col. 73. In Matt. cap. 16. Paris. 1602.

²¹ Spa rceal eac re þe mið heafod leahtum piðinan hreofliȝ byð cuman to ȝoder racepde ȝ ȝeopenian hīr diȝelnýrre þam ȝarþlican læce. ȝ be hīr næde ȝ fultume hīr ȝapla punda dædbetende ȝelacnian. Sume menn penað þ̅ him ȝenihtrumige to fulfremedum læcedome ȝif hi heora rýnna mið onbýrðre heortan ȝode anum ȝeandettað. ȝ ne ðurfon nanum racepde ȝeandettan ȝif hi ýfeleȝ ȝerþicað. Ac ȝif heora pena roð þære. ðonne nolde ðrihten arendan þone he rýlf ȝehæle to þam racepde mið æniȝre lace. For þære ýlean ȝebýrnunȝe eac he arende paulum. þone he rýlf of heoronom ȝerþræc. to ðam racepde ananian. þur cþæðende. Ea inn to þære ceartre ȝ þær þe bið ȝeræd hþæt ȝedapenað to donne. Ne ȝedyde re racepð þone mann hreofliȝne oððe unhreofliȝne. ac he demde þ̅ he rceolde beon arcýped fram manna neapirte ȝif hreofla rýrrigende þære. oððe betpux mannum punian ȝif hīr hreofla ȝodiende þære. Spa rceal ðon re ȝarþlican racepð. he rceal ȝerihc læcan ȝoder folc. ȝ þone arcýpan ȝ amanȝumian fram criſtenum mannum þe rpa hreofliȝ bið on manfullum þearum. þ̅ he oðre mið hīr ýfelnyrre bermýt. Be þam cþæð re aporol paulur. arcýriað þone ýfelan fram eop. þýlær þe an pann-hal rcep ealle þa eopde bermite. Euf hīr hreofla bið ȝodiende. þæt iſ. ȝif he ýfeleȝ ȝerþicð. ȝ hīr þeapaf þurh ȝoder eȝe ȝerihc læcð. he hæbbe pununȝe betpux criſtenum mannum oð ðæt he full halſi on hīr ðrohtnunȝum. (Bib!. Publ. Cant. MSS. Ii. 4—6. Ex Hom. intit. *Dominica Tertia post Theophaniam*, f. 7. The homily is

upon Christ's cleansing the leper.) *So shall also he, who with heavy vices within is leprous, come to God's priest, and open his secret sin to the ghostly leech (physician), and by his counsel and aid heal his soul's wounds ; doing penance. Some men ween that it suffices them for a perfect cure, if they confess their sins, with contrite heart, to God alone, and that no confession to a priest is required, if they cease from evil. But if their opinion were true, then would not the Lord have sent away him whom he healed himself to the priest with any present. For exemplifying the same thing also he sent away Paulus, whom he addressed himself from heaven, to the priest Ananias ; thus saying, Go into the city, and there shall be said to thee what befitteth to be done. The priest made not the man leprous or unleprous, but he judged that he should be separated from the neighbourhood of men, if his leprosy were growing worse, or dwell among men, if his leprosy were growing better. So shall do the ghostly priest : he shall rightly cure God's folk, and separate, and excommunicate from Cristen men him who so leprous is in wicked vices, that he others with his evilness defiles. According to that which saith the apostle Paulus, Separate the evil one from you, lest the one sickly sheep infect all the flock. If his leprosy be growing better, that is, if he cease from evil, and his vices, through God's fear, rightly cure, he may have habitation among Christian men.*

²² *Crist said to the Apostles, The sins of them whom ye forgive are forgiven, and those from which ye withhold forgiveness, from them it will be withholden. This power gave Crist to the Apostles,*

and to all bishops, if they rightly hold it. But if the bishop do according to his own will, and will bind the innocent and loose the guilty, then loses he the might which God gave him. Upon those men he shall bestow forgiveness whom he seeth to be contrite, through God's grace, and them shall he harden who have no repentance of their misdeeds. Crist reared from death the stinking Lazarus, and when he was quick, then saith he to his disciples, Loose his bands, that he may go. Then loosed they the bands of the quickened (man) whom Crist reared to life. Therefore should the teachers unbind from their sins those to whom Crist has given life through contrition. Every sinful man who concealeth his sins, he lieth dead in the tomb; but if he confess his sins through contrition, then goeth he from the tomb, even as Lazarus did when Crist commanded him to arise. Then shall the teacher unbind him from the eternal punishment, even as the apostles bodily loosed Lazarus. Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. Ii. 4—6. *Dominica i^a post Pascam.* p. 350. Wheloc. in Bed. p. 404; where may be seen the Saxon, with a Latin translation.

²³ Every man is baptised in the name of the holy Trinity, and he may not be again baptised, lest the invocation of the holy Trinity be despised; but true repentance, and penance, (dædbot,) with cessation from evil, wash us again from the sins which, after our baptism, we have committed. The merciful God says concerning all sinful men two words very profitable, Declina a malo, et fac bonum; that is, Turn from evil, and do good. It is not enough, that thou turn from evil, unless thou, at the same time, according to thy condition, accom-

plish good. Penitence, (dædbot,) with cessation of evil, and alms-deeds, and holy prayers, and faith, and trust in God, and the true love of God and man, heal and medicine our sins, if we earnestly follow the advice of our physicians. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Julius, E. 7. ex Hom. in cap. Jejunii, f. 63. Wheloc. in Bed. p. 422; where may be seen the Saxon, with a Latin translation, and much more matter to the same effect.)

It may naturally be supposed, that as the doctrine grew up of an absolute necessity for auricular confession to a priest, passages like this were found by no means satisfactory. Whelock (p. 216.) has furnished some curious evidence to this effect, from a MS. volume of Saxon homilies, in the library of Trinity college, Cambridge. The homilist says, *He who is lost in heinous sins shall not dare, though, to taste God's Eucharist, unless he first his sins amend. (gebetec.)* Some one has written in the margin, against this last word, *geandette hir reþirtan, confess to his confessor.* In another place of the same homily, it is said, *The man who will not repent of his sins, in his life, he gets no forgiveness in the (life) to come.* Against *repent* (beli-peoprian) here, is written, *hir reþirtan geandettan, to his confessor confess.* Another homily says, *If a man would, at least when he is sick, turn to God, and his sins confess with true repentance, the veracious Judge would have mercy upon him.* The marginal annotator here has written against *geandettan, confess, hir reþirtan geandettan, to his confessor confess.* Even another passage, in the same homily, which evidently rather makes for confession to a priest, does not go far enough for this zeal-

ous assertor of that doctrine. The homilist says, *But the unamended sins will there be manifested. They shall be ashamed and sorrowful in mind, that they before would not confess their sins, and do penance*, (ðædbote gedon,) *according to their teacher's direction*. In this passage, against andet-tan, *confess* is written, heopa ƿerƿtan, *to their confessor*.

A similar anxiety to press auricular confession upon men appears in the following extract from a Bodleian MS. (Junius 99. f. 78.) in which the homilist is intent upon that object himself, but appears to have gone by no means far enough for some later reader.

God ƿyle ƿƿa þeah gemiltƿian æghƿylcum ƿynfullum menn þe hiƿ ƿynna heƿ andet hiƿ ƿerƿte · ƿ ðædbetan ƿyle · ƿ æƿne ƿerƿcan þær unƿihter þe he æƿ ƿorhte ƿ ðýðe. Eal man ƿceal aƿƿpan ƿynna þƿh abƿýðe andetnýrre · Eal ƿƿa man ðeð

φ ƿ ƿite ge to ƿerƿ-
ƿan · hucan ge andettan
eoppe ƿynnan · mið nane
þinge · ne mið gebedum ·
ne mið ælmeƿƿan · ne bið
hiƿ ƿell geƿetƿ ƿið godð.

unlibban þƿh ƿodne ðƿencφ.

Ne mæg ƿe ƿneorƿ æniƿum
ƿynfullum men ƿel ðædbote
tæcan æƿ he gehyƿe hiƿ ƿynne

*** þe ma þe æniƿ læce mæg
untƿumne mann ƿel lacnian

æƿ he hæbbe þ atƿor ut aƿƿpen · þe him on innan bið.

God will, however, have mercy upon all sinful men who confess their sins here to their confessor, and will do penance, and ever cease from the unrighteousness that they ever wrought and did. Every man shall evacuate sins through contrite confession ; just as one gets rid of (something)

ϕ and know ye certainly; unless ye confess your sins; with no thing, neither with prayers, nor with alms, is it well set to rights with God.

*mortal through a good drink ϕ. The priest cannot well teach penitence to any sinful man ere he hear his sin *** the more than any leech can well cure a sick man, ere he have evacuated the poison which is within.*

In this extract, the Saxon words underscored (to which the English words in Roman letters answer) and those placed in the margin are all written in a different hand, and with different ink from the homily itself. To make room for the words underscored, the vellum has evidently been scraped, and the marks of the knife are still rough in the place *** where is now found a *lacuna*.

In Whelock's notes to Bede (pp. 340 et seq.) may be seen three Saxon pieces, with Latin translations, upon Contrition, Confession, and Penitence, (ðædbot) respectively, which confirm the views of these subjects attributed in the present work to the Anglo-Saxon Church. The learned editor does not seem to have been aware that all these pieces are Alcuin's: being among the Theological Essays addressed by that eminent English scholar to count Guido. They are to be found among the MSS. in the public library at Cambridge. (Ii. 1.—33.) In the printed edition of Alcuin's works they are to be found in the columns 1224, 5, 6, 7.

SERMON VI.

PURGATORY.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

YOUR attention was invited in the last discourse to a principle, probably, of philosophic origin, which could hardly fail of augmenting human apprehensions on the near approach of death. If it were believed, that all who would escape the posthumous vengeance of offended Heaven must compensate, on this side of eternity, by proportionate sufferings for their vicious acts, great anxiety would naturally be felt, in most cases, lest sins and inflictions should by no means have proceeded with equal pace. “Neither has a frowning Providence,” would an accusing conscience generally say, “afflicted you nearly to the just measure of your iniquities, nor have your own voluntary austerities at all approached the magnitude of those miscarriages which they were intended to correct

and punish.” There is, indeed, ordinarily, a considerable space in men’s mortal career, when the cares and riches and pleasures of this world exclude and stifle such reflections. But at length a summons to his “long home” plainly sounds in the sinner’s ears. He can no longer conceal it from himself, that he personally must soon occasion “the mourners to go about the streets.” Exhausting energies allow him not to doubt, that the time is nearly come for loosing “the silver cord” of life, for returning his “dust to the earth as it was^a.” What child of Adam, when at last awakened to this awful prospect, can avoid an anxious desire to ask, And shall my “spirit also return unto the God who gave it?” In such moments of serious thought, the mind, oppressed with an overwhelming consciousness of past iniquities, is constrained to say, “Wherewith shall I come before the Lord, and bow myself before the high God? Shall I come before him with burnt offerings, with calves of a year old? Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with ten thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my firstborn for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul^b?” It was by

^a Eccl. xii. 5, 6, 7.

^b Mic. vi. 6, 7.

returning an affirmative reply to questions like some of these, that, in ancient England, apprehensions were allayed, excited by the presumed necessity of compensating, by proportionate sufferings, for unholy deeds. Men were told, when writhing under the terrors of an evil conscience, “You have, indeed, failed most grievously of doing what the Lord requireth. You have not *done justly, or loved mercy, or walked humbly with your God*^c. Happily called, as you were, to become the child of grace *by the washing of regeneration*^d, you have alienated your heavenly Father, and wilfully rendered yourself the child of wrath, by a long, infatuated indulgence of proud, impure, selfish, angry feelings. But you need not despond: that almighty Friend, who constantly *cared for you*^e, while you were careless of yourself, has, probably, given you the ability to come before him with tolerable assurance. Use his unmerited bounty with due liberality. Repent truly of your iniquities, and then you may be allowed to redeem that fearful debt which you justly view as threatening ruin to your soul. *Charity shall cover the multitude of sins*^f. Forgive, then, freely; nay more, even

^c Micah vi. 8. ^d Tit. iii. 5. ^e 1 Pet. v. 7. ^f 1 Pet. iv. 8.

benefit and bless your enemies. Let your alms alleviate the privations of indigence. Let the slave be kindly bidden to go free. Let the house of God arise, by your means, among a population enshrouded in religious darkness. Let the bridge, or causeway, draw from future generations blessings upon your memory¹." These latter indications, that Christian charity truly wrought upon the parting soul, were, indeed, beyond the powers of ordinary men. But the blessed Jesus has graciously declared the widow's mite of equal estimation, in the sight of God, with an offering proportioned to the resources of opulence². Where, then, in ancient England, was the "broken spirit," where "the contrite heart³," that needed to grapple with man's last great enemy, hopeless for the future?

It was, however, obviously undesirable to render habitually prominent such a prospect of eluding penitential rigours. Had the ordinary course of religious instruction led men generally to calculate upon thus retaining in security their sinful lusts and appetites, how few, unhappily, would have been careful to "war a good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience!" How fatally would the

¹ St. Mark xii. 43.

² Ps. li. 17.

great mass of every successive generation have been lulled into an insensate neglect of eternity, and have blindly trodden “the broad way that leadeth to destructionⁱ,” until the day of the Lord, coming suddenly and unexpectedly, like the midnight robber, precluded every hope of escaping the vengeance of offended Heaven! That happy few in the great human family, whose temperaments appear to have been formed in a gentler, humbler, holier mould than those of the great majority among their brethren, might, indeed, have willingly submitted to the compensatory discipline, which was esteemed the safest medicine for the soul. Victims also of remorse or melancholy would have eagerly undergone even its most dreaded severities. But vainly would God’s appointed ministers have exhorted the bulk of their congregations to disarm vengeance from on high, by rendering themselves the avengers of their own unrighteous acts. Hence the Christian preacher ordinarily painted the palpable fool-hardiness of consuming year after year in wicked courses, and of deferring, or of declining altogether, such austerities as were considered necessary for exempting the soul from inflictions infinitely more rigorous in a future

ⁱ St. Matt. vii. 13.

state. Men were thus generally retained in that frame of mind which allowed them not to look back upon their own lives without painful apprehension. Surviving relatives also could but rarely reflect upon the mortal careers of those whom they deplored without uneasiness. On one side the mental eye encountered a mass of iniquity, calling, indeed, loudly for judicial visitation; on the other, penalties, exacted, perhaps, both by the sinner's own conscience, and by angry dispensations of God's providence, yet utterly disproportioned to the magnitude of offences committed.

Apprehensions, however, of final perdition, arising from this source, not uncommonly found among our distant Christian ancestry some degree of alleviation in a doctrine inherited from Pagan times. A primeval tradition, probably, has led men every where to expect a future state of retribution. But this expectation, nakedly entertained, is calculated to cause great uneasiness in a world overspread with iniquity. Man's perverse ingenuity has, accordingly, devised various theories for its qualification. Thus oriental philosophy sometimes taught, that human souls were emanations of the Deity, which, being defiled by their unhappy detention in corporeal pri-

sons, were consigned, after death, to certain penal processes, differing in duration, severity, and nature, according to the measures of those pollutions which they had severally contracted. When sufficiently purified by this course of discipline, they were again merged in that glorious and happy essence from which they had originally proceeded. This doctrine found an entrance into the Christian Church under the auspices of Manes, and hence it quickly fell into general disrepute. A modification of it, however, escaped this load of obloquy among the faithful. Pythagoras and Plato had not proceeded to the revolting length of representing the unseen tenants of our mortal frames as essentially divine. But still they had flattered the proud heart of man by declaring his spirit originally an inhabitant of heaven, which, from some miscarriage, had, for a time, lost its title to that blest abode, and was therefore doomed to struggle through far inferior states of being, until a course of suffering had sufficiently punished and completely purged away the disgraceful causes of its necessary exclusion from the presence of the Great Supreme². Philosophic refinements, and a vain, weak, mischievous, restless desire of “intruding into those things which man

hath not seen^k,” seduced some among the earlier ornaments of our holy religion to think favourably of such speculations. By Origen especially they were cordially received; and (as every thing must be which rivets minds like his) they were industriously and ingeniously recommended to the world. Accordingly this great and good man, but one, alas! most grievously “spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit^l,” not only maintained that human souls would be consigned, after dissolution, to a fiery abyss, whence they would eventually emerge, purified by their agonizing detention there, and therefore fitted for “seeing God^m,” but that even devils also would exult, at last, in this anxiously expected deliverance⁴. Speculators, zealous, unshrinking, able, and energetic as Origen, commonly make impressions that wear not soon away. Nor did *his* authority, though impugned by masters in theology, fail of long enjoying extensive influence in the Christian world. His peculiar opinions of a purgatorial state, indeed, being based upon the denial of hell, and plainly savouring of the Academy much more than of the Gospel, quickly sank into general disesteem. But

^k Col. ii. 18.^l Col. ii. 8.^m St. Matt. v. 8.

their main principle was fostered by the continued popularity of philosophic speculations; it had received also some countenance, before his time, from Tertullian⁵; and it proved invincibly tenacious of vitality among the followers of Jesus.

Even the Fathers, accordingly, of greatest eminence, adopted various views of a future purgatorial fire⁶. Their general opinion, however, appears to have been, that this would prove a mighty conflagration, enveloping the whole face of nature, on the consummation of all things. Through its flames, they thought, every child of Adam, even the blessed Virgin not excluded, would be compelled to pass in his way to the judgment-seat of Christ. The most holy of God's elect would accomplish this fiery passage rapidly, and with little or nothing of distress. Greater sinners would long have to buffet with the flames, and would smart severely under their effects; but these would, happily, consume every trace of such impurities as the sufferers had contracted upon earth, and hence render them fit for admission within that holy city, "into which any thing that defileth shall in nowise enterⁿ." As for those who died in unyielding impenitence, it was considered

ⁿ Rev. xxi. 27.

that they would approach the mysterious and awful mass of flame spotted so deeply with iniquity as to make their purgation utterly hopeless. Hence when, at last, they had struggled through the horrors of this fiery baptism, their very appearance would bespeak unfitness for a heavenly habitation, and indelibly mark them for “a part in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone: which is the second death^o.”

For this picture, too, men were indebted, probably, to a primeval tradition. When “all flesh, in Noah’s time, had corrupted his way^p,” God purged the polluted earth by submersion under the billows of a mighty flood. Unhappily, from the single family preserved, arose a new progeny of sinners. Hence reflecting minds were driven to admit, that indeed the globe again demanded loudly some overwhelming scourge, ere it could be rendered worthy of its heavenly artificer. God had, however, pledged himself, that the “waters should no more become a flood to destroy all flesh^q.” He had also, probably, given some intimations to the second father of mankind, that when a corrupt and infatuated world should, a second time, fill up

^o Rev. xxi. 8.

^p Gen. vi. 12.

^q Gen. ix. 15.

the measure of its iniquities, and thus become ripe for vengeance, fire would strike the blow. Such an annunciation would naturally supply speculative minds with an analogy between the fate which had already overtaken nature and that which yet awaited her. From the former catastrophe had arisen a renovated soil, for a time, at least, scarcely profaned by a single guilty footstep. From the latter, as more effective to destroy every remnant of the past, might be expected to arise a new earth, *incapable* even of defilement, and hence fitted for the glorious, happy home of a blameless race. Christians of all classes naturally imbibed such opinions from their heathen associates. The more educated followers of Jesus had become grievously “spoiled through philosophy and vain deceit.” Hence they, too, allowed themselves a pernicious and unwarrantable licence in speculating upon the posthumous prospects of mankind. Nor did they fail to seek confirmations of their views in holy Scripture. Ingenious framers of hypotheses, whether physical or moral, act, however, ordinarily thus. They strike out a favourite theory, and then endeavour to shew its consistency with God’s undoubted Word⁷. But such speculators pretend not usually to offer their

systems, even thus supported, as articles of faith. Nor, obviously, did those early theologians, who amused themselves in tracing pictures of an intermediate purgatorial fire. Hence they freely gave an extensive range to their imaginations when employed upon this question; evidently considering themselves at perfect liberty either to reject the principle altogether, or to entertain it in such a manner as best agreed with their several feelings, prejudices, and habits of thought.

The converted Anglo-Saxons were most probably prepared, by prepossessions descending from their heathen ancestry, to think favourably of speculations upon the soul's intermediate purgation. A disposition to retain such hypotheses came recommended to them by the great authority of that celebrated, but superstitious pontiff, whom they revered as the Apostle of their nation. Gregory pronounces it *credible*, that for certain light offences, such as habits of indulging in idle conversation, or unrestrained laughter, improprieties in the management of pecuniary affairs, and sins of ignorance in the less important questions, there is a purgatorial fire, before the day of judgment⁸." In another place he drops this doubtful tone, and pretty plainly makes the Psalmist say,

“ I know, that, after this life, some will be expiated in purgatorial flames, others will undergo the sentence of eternal damnation⁹.” Can this language, however, positive as it appears, be considered as an expression of the pontiff’s deliberate judgment? Must it not rather pass for an artful or a hasty declaration in favour of a system, far from infertile, as he was driven to admit, in moral evils, but still highly fascinating to a mind like his? If it be really more than this, how blameable, nay, rather, how inexcusable was Gregory to nullify his testimony, by placing it in the mouth of another, and by using such undetermined phraseology on a different occasion! Surely “ a master of Israel” would abundantly merit the severest reprehension, if he were to treat what he considered an integral member of our holy faith as merely *credible*.

Equally wavering and doubtful upon this point, however, is our own countryman Bede. The Psalmist’s prayer, “ O Lord, rebuke me not in thy wrath,” occasions the venerable expositor to observe, that “ Venial sins must be burnt away in purgatorial fire, now, in the space intervening before the day of judgment¹⁰.” But this decided language is inconsistent with its context. Bede there ad-

⁹ St. John. iii. 10.

verts to the celebrated passage¹¹ in which St. Paul mentions those who “shall be saved, yet so as by fire.” Now, when treating expressly upon that remarkable metaphor, he refers to the words in the Psalms, and he says, in the words of St. Austin, of the two texts conjointly, “I find no fault with those who would expound Scripture here as announcing a future purgatorial fire, *because, perhaps, their opinion is true*¹².” Of the *fire* mentioned by St. Paul, in the text giving rise to this expression of doubt, the great father of English scriptural exposition speaks even with greater diffidence. “I confess myself,” he modestly says, again adopting the famed Bishop of Hippo’s language, “rather desirous of hearing its meaning from individuals of greater learning and intelligence¹³.” He then offers two explanations of the term. Of these, the first represents the works of men as proved in the furnace of affliction, here, upon earth. The second views this fiery trial as a purgatorial flame, through which some of the faithful may be required to pass after death, and from which they may be expected to emerge, with a celerity, greater or less, according to the varying magnitudes of their several iniquities. This latter hypothesis Bede characterizes as “not incredible¹⁴.” Such is the judg-

ment upon purgatory of the most esteemed among our ancient theologians. He found in his authorities certain obscure and undefined speculations upon the subject, and he contented himself with dismissing these, as earlier divines had also done, by declaring them to involve no violation of probability. What would have been said of Bede, had he spoken of the Trinity or Incarnation in a similar tone of brief, indifferent scepticism? What else, than that his creed bound him to profess no such doctrines as articles of faith?

The speculations, however, to which Bede adverts were deeply rooted in pagan prepossessions, and hence they maintained their ground throughout the regions of western Europe. That religious authorities, notwithstanding, forbore to regard them as entitled to implicit confidence is attested by numerous remains of antiquity. Among these may be mentioned the conclusion to that remonstrance, cited in the last discourse, in which a Frankish council affirms, that God allows no sin to pass unpunished. Three descriptions of penalty are then enumerated, two relating to this world, and one to the next. Under the first heads we find penances voluntarily undergone, and judicial visitations of an angry Providence. Under the second

head is placed alone the horrible fate reserved for obstinate iniquity on the great and awful day of account¹⁵. Of any post-mundane penalty, besides this final consignment of reprobate spirits to the realms of eternal misery, the fathers give not even the slightest intimation. How comes it that they abstained from mentioning a second scene of dreadful retribution after death? Was it not politic, was it not indeed incumbent urgently upon God's appointed servants, to provide a barrier against that torrent of sacrilegious avarice which they sought to stem, by stating every punishment in store for the offenders? The remonstrating prelates might have said, "Men vainly reckon upon impunity, because evil deeds are often long attended by prosperity and peace. The sinner, notwithstanding, may be seized, eventually, with remorse of conscience, and hence driven to inflict upon himself a galling course of penitential discipline. Or the fearful judgments of a righteous God may overtake him when he least expects it. Or obstinate impenitence may consign him to everlasting misery. Or, if late contrition happily avert this intolerable doom, he may still bitterly deplore, on leaving human life, in agonies terminable indeed, yet protracted and intense, the wretched infatua-

tion of his wicked acts." What other inference can reasonably be drawn from the total omission of such a topic as this last, than that an intermediate state of suffering for the soul was no recognized article of the Frankish creed early in the ninth century? Nor, therefore, we may reasonably conclude, did England, then, admit any such member into the "faith once delivered unto the saints." Of her continuance in such exclusion, the following admonition to a penitent, after confession, but little anterior, probably, to the Conquest, is no doubtful evidence. "Thou shalt reflect upon the day of judgment, and ever entertain a fear of eternal torments. For eternal life thou shalt strive most earnestly; and every day thou shalt think of death"¹⁶." Why was the voice of exhortation thus restricted? Did the monitor never hear of an intermediate state of punishment and purgation between death and judgment? Assuredly, with such an expectation he was far from unacquainted. But in holy Scripture he could not find it certainly confirmed; ecclesiastical antiquity refused it any decided sanction. His theological authorities, accordingly, though favourable to it, would not venture upon its positive approval. He therefore abstained from introducing, among the more solemn of reli-

gious exhortations, any reference to that which he knew might eventually be found no better than an ingenious theory.

A like disregard of the purgatorial hypothesis appears in most of the Saxon homilies. One of these venerable sermons teaches, that "he can never be clean who will not cease from sin ere his dying day"¹⁷. Another of them asserts, that no opportunities of compensating for iniquities await men beyond the grave, but that "every one will fare hereafter according to his deserts here, be they good or be they evil"¹⁸. A third warns the people against any expectations of pardon for sin in a future state. Repentance in this world, it teaches, must be accomplished by all who would find forgiveness on reaching the world of spirits¹⁹. And were those to whom we owe such declarations firmly persuaded that a purgatorial fire would cleanse the disembodied soul from every defilement of carnality? Could such writers also have esteemed bare attrition adequate for conducting eventually the children of disobedience to those heavenly joys for which no relish had been acquired in their whole mortal course?

Besides thus extinguishing the hope of obstinate iniquity by their views of the disembodied soul's condition, our early homilists so

represent it likewise as powerfully to encourage virtue. Good men, they teach, are transferred immediately from earth to paradise²⁰. Human life is compared, accordingly, to the passage of ancient Israel through the wilderness. If mortals, it is said, travel through that difficult and often painful portion of their whole existence in obedience to God's commands, the heavenly Canaan awaits them at its end²¹. Another homily paints the pious soul, on escaping from the body, as rendered seven times brighter than the sun, and as led by angels to the destined abode of happiness²². Again, the prevailing belief in the *Limbus Patrum* affords occasion for exhorting men to consider thankfully the privilege of those who live under the Gospel. These more favoured of God's children, it is represented, at once attain that state of fruition, to which the fathers were not admitted, until after a wearisome delay²³.

The view, indeed, of a future cleansing fire, apparently most popular in ancient England, was that which Alcuin adopted. This venerated scholar had followed those theorists of earlier date, by whom the final conflagration was expected to prove purgatorial in its nature and effects. A homilist, accordingly, affirms unhesitatingly, that all men would have

to make their anxious way through the flames enveloping a guilty world, and that, from this awful passage, every one who came out unsinged would be completely cleansed from the pollution of iniquity²⁴.

Nor did our distant ancestry abandon that principle, established among heathen speculators, which accounted for the kindling of this mighty conflagration. The globe will sink, they thought, amidst an all-devouring mass of flame, because it long has fostered impiety and moral disobedience. Even the embers of this all-prevailing fire, it was imagined, will not be suffered to deform the face of renovated nature. No sooner will combustion cease, than an overwhelming flood will cover all the ground. This, in its ebbing tide, will carry downwards into the caverns of the great abyss every vestige of that defilement which has for ages tainted and profaned the perfect workmanship of a holy God. Thus, "the first heaven and the first earth having passed away," will arise "a new heaven and a new earth^s," fitted for the ransomed of the Lord, wholly, therefore, free from all that can ensnare the senses or engender moral contagion²⁵.

From the prevailing practice of allowing

^s Rev. xxi. 1.

this dangerous licence to an excursive fancy, religious persons of a visionary temperament naturally extracted food adapted to their peculiar habits of hallucination. Thus Fursey, truly eminent as a missionary to East Anglia, gained new admiration, by declaring himself to have been admitted, amidst the troubled slumbers of a sick man's couch, to a view of miseries in store for disembodied souls²⁶. The morbid imagination of Drighthelm, a Northumbrian ascetic, afforded a dream of equal celebrity²⁷. One of these pictures, however, is evidently based in allegory; and neither of them, it is worthy of remark, represents the purgatorial fire as any ground for universal apprehension. Its torturing operation, the visions paint, awaits those only whose impenitence has reached to the very end of life, and who have, hence, been unable to compensate for their sins by proportionate austerities. Here we may detect an ample reason for the circulation industriously given to these well-told instances of a distempered body's operation upon an enthusiastic mind. Our ancient clergy laboured anxiously to enforce that penitential discipline, which was deemed of incalculable importance to the soul. What was more likely to second effectually such endeavours than vivid pictures of agonizing,

purgatorial sufferings reserved for those who should leave the world under a load of unexpiated sin?

That the spirits of such infatuated offenders would indeed pay their moral debts with usury and rigour inconceivable is asserted, at considerable length, in a homily written, it seems, after the millenary year. It is there maintained, that some members of the great human family, on departure from the world, go immediately to rest, some, again, to eternal misery, and others to temporary punishment in expiating fires. It is not, however, the more heinous transgressions to which this intermediate agony is threatened. It is only for sins of a less revolting character that men are allowed to calculate upon thus escaping from the horrors of eternal death²⁸.

Individual divines, then, appear to have taught our ancestry, through the whole Saxon period, that human souls pass immediately, by death, some to heaven, others to hell, others to paradise, while a fourth sort, those, namely, of the less grievous sinners, who repented truly at the end of life, but not before, go for a time to a place of fiery punishment and purgation. These opinions differ from those eventually erected into articles of faith by the councils of Florence and Trent²⁹,

in the mention of paradise, in the denial of heaven to all who died not truly contrite, in offering no hope of purgatorial amendment to the most heinous offenders, and in positively deciding upon fire as the destined instrument of punishment and purification. The most essential point, however, in which these two systems disagree consists in this, that Anglo-Saxon speculations generally would exempt a very considerable number of human souls from the fear of purgatory, Romish doctrines hardly any. For who is there so perfect, upon the bed of death, as to be wholly free from certain venial sins, from an unhappy leaven of corruption³⁰? While the soul yet lingers in its earthly tabernacle it rarely fails to exhibit some traces of the flesh. An exceedingly small minority of mankind can, then, upon Romish principles, leave the world with any reasonable hope of escaping purgatorial rigours. The theorists of ancient England, however, encouraged extensive expectations of such a happy deliverance. Would men, they taught, lead religious, virtuous lives, and compensate penitentially for their iniquities, their souls would pass, by death, immediately to a place of rest and refreshment. But this fact, though of some importance in controversy, affects not materially the main

object of our enquiry. We are concerned to ask, whether a belief in a state of punishment and purgation for the disembodied soul was entertained, among the spiritual guides of ancient England, from the first, uninterruptedly and definitely, as an article of faith? To such questions must undoubtedly be returned a negative reply. How can it be rationally maintained, that the earliest of our country's religious authorities inculcate the Romish doctrine of purgatory, when it is known that they merely treat expectations of a future cleansing fire, operating upon light offences, as involving no violation of probability? And why did writers especially called upon by their subjects to mention this purgatorial flame omit all mention of it? Why did others notice it in a brief, confused, unsatisfactory manner? Why, again, was its credit mainly supported by alleged revelations, confessedly vouchsafed to men of ascetic habits, while their senses were locked in sleep, and their bodies laboured under indisposition? How came it also that some considered the soul's agonizing purgation as consequent immediately upon its release from humanity, while others, and those perhaps by no means the minority, expected not the kindling of this purifying flame until that awful day

when “the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be burned up^t?” What can be inferred from such indisputable facts, but that all these varying opinions were looked upon as mere speculations, not unfruitful, perhaps, in moral admonition, but still entitled neither to the implicit credence nor to the uniformity of definition demanded by articles of faith? Our ancient Church stood, indeed, committed to none of those theories upon the soul’s intermediate purgation which were entertained among her children. She merely authorized those prayers and eucharistic services for the dead which had been established in Christian societies of earlier date. But such religious offices involve not necessarily any belief in purgatorial sufferings. Disembodied souls were considered, in ancient times, as *expectants* only of the beatific vision, until the day of judgment. Hence it was esteemed a pious exercise of charity in surviving friends to pray that they might miss, in their actual state, none of those comforts and satisfactions which that condition would allow. It was also thought indicative of a religious and affec-

^t 2 Pet. iii. 10.

tionate regard for the happiness of those who had gone before, to pray, that when their souls should finally rejoin the body, the now renovated man should proceed with modest exultation into the presence of his almighty Judge. Such happy members of the great human family would rise, it was imagined, before the wretched outcasts from heavenly favour; and, accordingly, men commonly supplicated for those among the departed whose memories they fondly cherished, that this first resurrection might diffuse unwonted satisfaction over their reviving frames³¹. The prevalence of such opinions among our Saxon fathers is established undeniably by their literary remains. Thus Æthelred, brother to king Alfred, is described as awaiting in his grave, after a well-spent life, the second advent of our blessed Lord, and the first resurrection with the just³². The same expressions are also used respecting Burghred, king of Mercia³³. Facts like these account sufficiently for offices in behalf of departed spirits. Our ancient Church might evidently sanction them without espousing also any of those theories upon an intermediate, penal state of purification, which floated upon the surface of society.

As in truth to such speculations her au-

thority never stood committed, it will necessarily follow that her testimony would be vainly sought in favour of indulgences. Indeed Bishop Fisher, one of the most excellent and learned among martyrs to the Romish cause, has justly attributed the popularity of these famous relaxations to the general prevalence of a belief in purgatory³⁴. Our Anglo-Saxon fathers, however, knew that doctrine only in its infancy; and they were taught expressly, that the posthumous inflictions, upon which many speculated, could be no objects of apprehension to such as would follow the directions of their spiritual guides. A race thus instructed was not likely to seek for those exemptions which the Roman see has offered, since purgatorial expiations have been represented as reserved for nearly all mankind. It is, besides, notorious, that indulgences became not objects of request, in any quarter, until after the period with which this enquiry is concerned. Nor would they have been mentioned here, were they not intimately connected with our present subject of attention, and had they not attained an extraordinary degree of prominence among the details of ecclesiastical history. The spark which found a vent for a mighty but long-smothered flame could not fail, indeed,

of arresting permanently the attention of mankind.

The whole matter submitted to your notice in this discourse may haply suggest an answer to some important questions. When doctrines uncontained in Scripture are denied assent, their advocates commonly enquire, How came articles of faith, unless taught in apostolic times, ever to have been received at all among the faithful? Consider those indisputable facts which are connected with the case of purgatory. Who will deny that Gentile prejudices and associations prepared the early Christians for a belief in this important principle? Is it not notorious also, that expectations of purifying fires, awaiting the disembodied soul, had long been entertained in that philosophic school which numbered eventually among its pupils many of the most illustrious Christian luminaries? And are not these very individuals the earliest known authorities within the Church for a belief in an intermediate state of suffering? Do they, however, inculcate such a principle as an article of faith? Do they not rather treat it as a mere speculation, not unworthy, indeed, of exciting human anxieties, but still entitled to reception upon no higher ground than upon that of probability? Thus unau-

thenticated and unsettled did the doctrine of purgatory reach the period when the tenth century ran its dark and uneasy course. Then it is known to have made very considerable progress. When, accordingly, the human mind recovered something from the leaden pressure of that miserable age, a belief in purgatorial fires between death and judgment was engrafted pretty thoroughly upon the Christian faith.

Of other doctrines received among the followers of Jesus, but incapable of scriptural proof, let it be considered, whether a way was not prepared for them by immemorial pagan traditions, and whether they may not have received some degree of countenance from Christian writers before the tenth century. Popular principles and practices which had defied extinction until that age were obviously likely to gain a great accession of vigour in their passage through it. They had long been struggling obscurely for a permanent establishment. Three generations, or more, successively arose unusually deficient in the means of checking their progress. They could hence hardly fail of being left in firm possession of that ground which more intelligent times would never have conceded.



PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SERMON VI.

¹ **THE** tenth canon of the synod of Celichyth (holden in 816) enjoins, that, on the death of a bishop, the tenth of his property of every kind should be bestowed in alms, and that every English slave belonging to him should be manumitted, for the sake of obtaining mercy for his sins. “*Quandocunque aliquis ex numero episcoporum migraverit de seculo, tunc pro anima illius præcipimus, ex substantia cujuscunque rei decimam partem dividere, ac distribuere pauperibus in eleemosynam, sive in pecoribus et armentis, seu de ovibus et porcis, vel etiam in cellariis, nec non omnem hominem Anglicum liberare, qui in diebus suis sit servituti subjectus, ut per illud sui proprii laboris fructum retributionis percipere mereatur, et indulgentiam peccatorum.*” (Spelman. Conc. 330.)

The thirteenth, and three following of king Edgar's canons, declare that satisfaction for sins may be made by means of alms, and enumerate various ways of exercising such benevolence. A church may be built, it is said, a glebe settled upon it, and young men placed in it, for the performance of divine offices. Or some benefaction may be bestowed upon God's Church, roads may be mended, bridges built over waters, causeways over bogs.

Relief may be given to the poor, assistance to widows, step-children, (orphans,) and strangers. A man's own slaves may be manumitted, and money given for the manumission of slaves belonging to other people; especially of such as have lost their liberties by becoming prisoners of war. The needy may be found in food, clothing, house, fire, bath, and bed. Tithes may be paid of every thing in the party's possession. The Church may frequently be visited with alms, and holy places greeted with lights. Shelter, meat, protection, fire, fodder, (fodder, *alimentum quodlibet*. Spelman. *edulium hominum*. Lye.) bed and bath may be supplied to such as want them. Visits may be paid to the sick, both in body and mind. The dead may be buried. He who is unable to do most of these things, may do, it is observed, at least some of them, and he is admonished to do what he can earnestly.

In another collection of canons, adopted by the Anglo-Saxons from the Capitulars of Theodulf, (bishop of Orleans, near the end of the eighth century,) the one setting forth Origen's seven remedies for sins, from which an extract has already been made in illustration of the last sermon, (note 15,) has the following clause. "*Thirdly, sins are absolved through alms; according to that which Daniel said to Nabuchodnosser, the king, Redeem thy sins with alms, in shewing mercy upon the poor: (Dan. iv. 27. sec. LXX. v. 24. τὰς ἀμαρτίας σου ἐν ἐλεημοσύναις λύτρωσαι.) and that, Even as water extinguisheth fire, so alms extinguish sin: and the Lord saith in the Gospel, Give your alms, then may ye, through that, be clean.* Spelman. Conc.

330, 471, 611. Johnson's *Collection of Eccl. Laws*, vol. II.

² “ Super animæ statu, memini vestræ quæstiunculæ, immo maxime ecclesiasticæ questionis; utrum lapsæ de cœlo sit, ut Pythagoras Philosophus, omnesque Platonici, et Origenes putant; an a propria Dei substantia, ut Stoici, Manichæus, et Hispaniæ Priscilliani hæreses suspicantur.” (Hieronymus Marcellino et Anapsychiæ.—Epist. 82.—Divi Hieronymi Stridonensis, Opp. Paris. 1602. tom. II. col. 492.) See also Huet's *Origeniana*, pp. 92, 93.

³ “ Applicavit se deinde” (Origenes sc.) ad Ammonium, cognomento Saccam, et in ejus exhedris insignem philosophiæ peritiam comparavit, sed Platoniciæ præsertim, quæ tam altas in ejus animo radices egit, ut succrescentes Christianæ doctrinæ fruges interficeret: nam Ecclesiæ scita fere exigebat ad normam Platonis, et sincera Christi dogmata Platoniciis, ut dicam, coloribus oblinebat.” *Origeniana*: Auctore Pet. Dan. Huet. ad Origenis Opera præfixa. Rothomag. 1668. vol. I. p. 4.

⁴ “ Satis ex superioribus, etiam me silente, colligitur, damnatorum pœnis modum aliquando et finem ex decreto Origenis impositum iri: cum enim futurum ratus sit, ut quemcumque teneant statum animæ, peccare possint, et reipsa sæpe peccant, ac pro peccatis vel meritis perpetuo circuitu ab imis ad summa, a summis ad ima revolvantur, ipsiusque Diaboli aversa a Deo voluntas olim conterenda, et Deo Patri regnum Christus sit traditurus, tumque existimaverit plenam omnium ἀποκατάστασιν ac perpetuam felicitatem futuram, cum Deus erit omnia in omnibus; consequitur illinc necessario desitura damnatorum supplicia, eaque noxarum duntaxat ex-

purgandi causa a Deo hominibus infligi.” Origeniana, p. 151.

“Perspicuum hinc est non alias admisisse pœnas Origenem quam piaculares et temporarias; cujusmodi sunt Purgatoriæ illæ quas Ecclesia Catholica agnoscit.” Ibid. p. 153.

“Cum ait aversam a Deo Diaboli voluntatem olim fore conterendam, satis significat se ne dæmones quidem ab æterna felicitate excludere.” Ibid. p. 154.

⁵ “In summa quum carcerem illum, quem Evangelium demonstrat, inferos intelligamus, et novissimum quadrantem, modicum quidque delictum mora resurrectionis illic luendum interpretamur; nemo dubitabit animam aliquid pensare penes inferos, salva resurrectionis plenitudine, per carnem quoque.” (Tertullian. De Anima, cap. ult. Opp. ex edit. N. Rigaltii. Lutet. 1634. p. 357.) See also the Bishop of Lincoln’s *Eccl. Hist. Illustrated*, Camb. 1826. p. 343.

⁶ “Et sicut diaboli, et omnium negatorum atque impiorum qui dixerunt in corde suo: *Non est Deus*, credimus æterna tormenta: Sic peccatorum atque impiorum, et tamen Christianorum, quorum opera in igne probanda sunt atque purganda, moderatam *arbitramur* et mistam clementiæ sententiam judicis.” (Comment. Hieronymi, lib. XVIII. in Esaiam, cap. 66. Opp. ex edit. Reatini. Episc. Amer. Lutet. Paris. 1623. tom. IV. p. 229.) This passage, it is observable, amounts to nothing more than a mere opinion. *Arbitramur* is not a term for the use of an eminent divine in propounding an article of faith.”

“Facta resurrectione mortuorum non deerunt

quibus post pœnas, quas patiuntur spiritus mortuorum, impertiatur misericordia, ut in ignem non mittantur æternum. Neque enim de quibusdam veraciter diceretur quod *non eis remittatur, neque in hoc sæculo, neque in futuro*, nisi essent quibus etsi non in isto, tamen remittitur in futuro.” (S. Augustini de Civitate Dei, lib. XXI. cap. 24. ed. Benedict. tom. VII. col. 642.) St. Austin’s partiality for the purgatorial hypothesis is likewise shewn by a passage in the 16th chapter of his treatise *De Civitate Dei*, in which, speaking of a baptized person who dies in early life, before the commission, therefore, of actual sin, he says, *Non solum pœnis non præparetur æternis, sed ne ulla quidem post mortem purgatoria tormenta patiatur*. (col. 636.) At the same time, his uncertainty as to the soundness of this philosophic speculation, and his acquaintance with the moral mischiefs resulting from it, are shewn by the following words, at the conclusion of this very 16th chapter. “Quisquis igitur cupit pœnas evadere sempiternas, non solum baptizetur, verum etiam justificetur in Christo, ac sic vere transeat a diabolo ad Christum. *Purgatorias autem pœnas nullas futuras opinetur, nisi ante illud ultimum tremendumque judicium.*”

⁷ An instance of men’s disposition to support their theories by the help of scriptural perversions is strikingly supplied by Origen’s endeavours to prove the preexistence of human souls. “Libro vero lucubrationis ejusdem priore, (cap. 7.) animam hominis non cum corpore factam docet, sed extrinsecus insertam, idque pro meritorum ratione. Probando huic Jacobi profert exemplum et Esau, quorum hic fratrem, cum ex utero prodiret

supplantavit; quod ita nequaquam eventurum fuisse censet, nisi id uterque fuisset gestis suis promeritus, antequam cœlo delaberetur: addit et Johannis exemplum, qui, in materni uteri claustris etiamnum compactus, ad Mariæ vocem tripudiavit; et Jeremiæ, cui dixerat Dominus, *Priusquam te formarem in utero, novi te, et antequam exires de vulva, sanctificavi te.* Origeniana, p. 94.

⁸ “ Sed tamen de quibusdam levibus culpis esse ante diem judicii *purgatorius ignis credendus est*, pro eo quod veritas dicit: *Quia si quis in Sancto Spiritu blasphemiam dixerit, neque in hoc seculo remittetur ei, neque in futuro.* In qua sententia datur intelligi quasdam culpas in hoc seculo, quasdam vero in futuro posse laxari. Quod enim de uno negatur consequens intellectus patet, quia de quibusdam conceditur. Sed tamen, ut prædixi, hoc *de parvis, minimisque peccatis fieri posse credendum est*, sicut est assiduus otiosus sermo, immoderatus risus, vel peccatum curæ rei familiaris, quæ vix sine culpa vel ab ipsis agitur, qui culpam qualiter declinare debeant, sciunt: aut in non gravibus rebus error ignorantia: quæ cuncta etiam post mortem gravant, si adhuc in hac vita positæ minime fuerint relaxata. Nam cum Paulus dicat Christum esse fundamentum, atque subjungat: *Si quis superædificat, super hoc fundamentum, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, ligna, fœnum, stipulam, uniuscujusque opus quale sit, ignis probabit: si cujus opus arserit, detrimentum patietur, ipse autem salvus erit, sed tamen quasi per ignem.* Quamvis hoc de igne tribulationis in hac nobis vita adhibito possit intelligi; tamen si quis hoc de igne futuræ purgationis accipiat, pensandum sollicite est,

quia illum per ignem dixit posse salvari, non qui super hoc fundamentum, ferrum, æs, vel plumbum ædificat, hoc est, peccata majora, et idcirco duriora, atque tunc jam insolubilia; sed ligna, fœnum, stipulam, id est, peccata minuta, atque levissima, quæ ignis facile consumat. Hoc tamen sciendum est; quia illic saltem de minimis nihil quisque purgationis obtinebit, nisi bonis hoc actibus, in hac adhuc vita positus, ut illic obtineat, promereatur.” (Beati Gregorii Dialog. lib. IV. cap. 39. Opp. Paris. 1571. tom. I. col. 1031.) It is plain from the conclusion of the penultimate sentence in this extract, that Gregory’s contemporaries were in the habit of encouraging themselves in carnal security, under the hope that any unrighteous acts, for which they might not have duly compensated, by means of God’s judgments and their own penances in this life, would easily find an ample atonement in a future state. Of such an expectation, it should be recollected, the evil is the greater, because these expected purgatorial sufferings were considered as capable of important mitigation, or even of a rapid extinction, by means of alms, and the prayers and eucharistic services of survivors.

9 “ *Domine, ne in furore tuo arguas me, neque in ira tua corripas me.* Quasi dicat: Scio futurum esse, ut post hujus vitæ exitum, alii flammis expientur purgatoriis, alii sententiam æternæ subeant damnationis. Sed quia illum transitorium ignem omni tribulatione æstimo præsentī intolerabiliorem, non solum in furore æternæ damnationis opto non argui, sed etiam in ira transeuntis timeo correptionis purgari.” Explanatio D. Greg. Papæ III. Ps. Pœnit. Opp. tom. II. col. 373.

¹⁰ “Futurum quoque est ut quidam corripiantur in ira tua, et ideo, Domine, flagella, seca, ure, purgatum me hic redde, ut non corripias me tunc in ira tua. Corripiuntur in ira Dei, qui Christum fundamentum tum habent, sed non tantum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, superædificant; sed etiam intermiscent ligna, fœnum, stipulam, id est, committunt quædam venialia peccata graviora et leviora, et ideo necesse est, ut hi tales in ira corripiantur, id est in purgatorio igne, nunc interim ante diem judicii ponantur, ut quæ in eis immunda sunt, per illum exurantur, et sic tandem idonei esse cum his qui in dextra coronandi sunt inveniantur.” (Bedæ Presb. Comment. in Ps. xxxvii. Opp. tom. VIII. col. 628.) That Bede’s philosophic theology led him to expect a strict correspondence between men’s individual acts and their consequences, respectively, appears from the following passages in his homily upon the parable of the rich man and Lazarus. “Ecce enim dum dicitur, *Recepisti bona in vita tua*, indicatur, et dives iste boni aliquid habuisse, ex quo in hac vita bona reciperet. Rursumque dum de Lazaro dicitur, *Quia recepit mala*, profecto monstratur et Lazarum habuisse malum aliquod quod purgaretur. Sed *mala Lazari purgavit ignis inopiæ*, et bona divitis remuneravit felicitas transeuntis vitæ.” Homiliæ Bedæ Æstivales de Tempore. Opp. tom. VII. col. 64.

¹¹ “De loco, 1 Cor. 3. *Ignis probabit*, &c. est magna Patrum pugna. Augustinus illum in *Enchiridio*, et in libris *de Civitate Dei*, et in *Quæstionibus ad Dulcitium*, et in libro *Confessionum*, intelligit de tribulatione hujus temporis : quem sequitur Primasius simplicitate in suis commentariis super

Paulum. In eadem sententia est Œcumenius. Hieronymus per hunc ignem, examinationem judicii intelligit. Chrysostomus per ignem istum intelligit ignem æternum. Ambrosius et Haymo de doctrina intelligunt; etsi videatur Haymo magis ad opinionem de judicio inclinare. Ab hac opinione de doctrina non procul abest Theodoretus, qui illud de magisterio intelligit. Sedulius Scotus examinationem judicii, inquit, igni voluit comparare. Dionysius Carthusianus per ignem, ignem conflagrationis explicat. Gregorius, quidem, et Lyranus, atque Anselmus, hunc quidem ignem ex sententia Augustini de tribulatione præsentis intelligi posse hic putant; attamen videntur illum etiam ad purgatorium flectere, quanquam id non aperte faciunt: præsertim Lyranus, et Gregorius. Anselmus tandem se dubitare ostendit, quia cum primo istum ignem de tribulatione interpretatus sit, tandem cum Augustino ait, fieri posse et incredibile non esse, nonnullos fideles per ignem quendam purgatorium a minimis delictis purgari. Sed concilium Florentinum, et quotquot sunt hodie Papistæ, locum illum de purgatorio intelligunt: quanquam de materiali igni hic intelligi non possit, nisi et per ferrum, aurum, et stipulam, etiam materialia intelligamus." *De Traditionibus Apostolicis et Tacitis. Auctore Hermann Hammelmanno.* Basil. 1568. p. 80.

¹² "Post istius sane corporis mortem, donec ad illam veniatur, qui, post resurrectionem corporum, futurus est damnationis et remunerationis ultimus dies, si, hoc temporis intervallo, spiritus defunctorum ejusmodi ignem dicuntur perpeti, quem non sentiant illi qui non habuerunt tales mores et amores in hujus corporis vita, ut eorum ligna, et fœnum,

et stipula consumantur: alii vero sentiant, qui ejusmodi secum ædificia portaverunt, sive ibi tantum, sive et hic et ibi, sive ideo hic ut non ibi, et sæcularia, quamvis a damnatione venialia, concremantem ignem transitoriæ tribulationis inveniant, non redarguo, quia forsitan verum est: *Domine, ne in indignatione arguas me, neque in ira tua emendes me.*" (Ven. Bed. Opp. V. 291. S. Augustini De Civitate Dei, lib. XXI. cap. 26. ed. Benedict. tom. VII. col. 649.)

Cardinal Bellarmine (Controv. II. 244.) cites the passage from the Psalms, in which Bede pretty plainly asserts the doctrine of purgatory, but he does not add that the venerable commentator, in the passage extracted above, has nullified the former passage by speaking of its purport as a speculation *perhaps* founded in truth.

¹³ " *Ignis probabit, &c.* Hic a me fortassis quæritur de ipsa Pauli Apostoli sententia quid ego sentiam, et quonam modo intelligendam putem? Fateor malle me hinc audire intelligentiores atque doctiores." Ven. Bed. Opp. V. 286. S. Augustini Ep. de Octo Dulcitii Quæstionibus, cap. 6. Opp. ed. Benedic. tom. VI. col. 124.

¹⁴ " Ignis, enim, de quo eo loco locutus est Apostolus, talis esse debet intelligi, ut ambo per eum transeant, id est, qui ædificat super hoc fundamentum aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos, et qui ædificat ligna, fœnum, et stipulam. Cum enim dixisset, adjunxit, *Uniuscujus opus quale sit, ignis probabit. Si enim opus manserit, quod superædificavit, mercedem accipiet. Si cujus opus exustum fuerit, damnum patietur. Ipse autem salvus erit, sic tamen quasi per ignem.* Non ergo unius eorum,

sed utriusque opus ignis probabit. Est quidem ignis tentatio tribulationis, de quo aperte alio loco scriptum est, *Vasa figuli probat fornax; et homines justos tentatio tribulationis*. Iste ignis in hac interim vita facit quod Apostolus dixit, si accadat duobus fidelibus, uni, scilicet, cogitanti quæ sunt Dei, quomodo placeat Deo; hoc est ædificanti super Christi fundamentum, aurum, argentum, lapides pretiosos; alteri autem cogitanti ea quæ sunt mundi, quomodo placeat uxori, id est, ædificanti super idem fundamentum, ligna, fœnum stipulam. Illius enim opus non exuritur, quia non ea dilexit quorum amissione crucietur: exuritur autem hujus, quoniam sine dolore non pereunt quæ cum amore possessa sunt. Sed quoniam, alterutra conditione proposita, eis potius mavult carere quam Christo, nec timore amittendi talia deserit Christum, quamvis doleat cum amittit: *salvus erit quidem, sic tamen quasi per ignem*; quia urit eum dolor rerum quas dilexerat amissarum, sed non subvertit neque consumit fundamenti stabilitate atque incorruptione munitum. *Tale etiam aliquid post hanc vitam fieri incredibili non est*, et utrum ita sit quæri potest, et aut inveniri aut latere, nonnullos fidelium per ignem quendam purgatorium, quanto magis minusve bona pereuntia dilexerunt, tanto tardius, citiusve transituros, salvari: non tamen tales de quibus dictum est, quod regnum Dei non possidebunt, nisi convenienter pœnitentibus eadem crimina remittantur. Convenienter autem dixi, ut steriles in eleemosynis non sint, quibus tantum tribuit Scriptura divina, ut earum tantummodo fructum se imputaturum pronunciet Dominus dexteris, et earum tantummodo sterilitatem sinistris, quando

iis dicturus est, *Venite benedicti, percipite regnum* : Illis autem, *Ite in ignem æternum.*" Ven. Bed. Opp. V. 288.

¹⁵ " Tribus itaque modis peccata mortalium vindicantur, duobus in hac vita, tertio vero in futura vita. De duobus ita Apostolus inquit, *Si nosmet-ipsos judicaverimus, a Domino non judicabimur.* Hæc est vindicta, quem, inspirante Deo, omnis peccator pro suis admissis pœnitendo in seipso vindicat. Quod autem prosecutus idem Apostolus infert ; *Cum judicamur autem, a Domino corripi-mur, ut non cum hoc mundo damnemur.* Hæc est vindicta quam omnipotens Deus misericorditer peccatori irrogat ; juxta illud, *Deus quem amat corripit, flagellat autem omnem filium quem recipit.* Tertia autem extat valde pertimescenda atque terribilis, quæ non in hoc, sed in futuro justissimo Dei judicio fiet sæculo, quando justus judex dicturus est, *Discedite a me maledicti in ignem æternum, qui paratus est diabolo et angelis ejus.*" (Conc. Aquisgran. II. ad Pippinum R. Labb. et Coss. VII. 1729.)

The first clause in this section of the council's remonstrance may be seen in the seventh note upon the last sermon.

Perhaps it may be allowable to introduce here, as an additional illustration of the state of the purgatorial question, in ancient England, the following passage from a sermon by archbishop Anselm. That prelate, undoubtedly, lived after the time with which the present undertaking is particularly concerned, but his day was so very near it, that his opinions are not undeserving of attention from those who would understand its theology. "Duas enim

beatitudines, et item miserias duas, majorem videlicet, atque minorem esse novimus. Majorem beatitudinem, regnum Dei, minorem dicimus esse, in quo Adam primo positus fuerat, gaudium paradisi. Item majorem miseriam, æternum ignem gehenæ, minorem fatemur, quas incessanter patimur, ærumnas præsentis vitæ.” *Sermo Anselmi archiepiscopi de æterna Beatitudine, in Cluniacensi capitulo ad Conventum habitus: ad calcem S. Pachomii Regul. utrumque nunquam antea, nunc autem ab Achille Statio Lusitano primum editum.* Rom. 1575.

¹⁶ Domes-dæg þu scealt rýmle Ʒeþencan. 7 helle Ʒitu þu þe scealt á onðræðan. 7 þær ecan lifes ðu scealt mid ealre Ʒeornfulnesse Ʒýrnan. 7 ælce dæge þu þe scealt deaðes penan. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Tiberius, A. 3. f. 52.) *Of doom’s-day thou shalt also think, and hell-punishment thou shalt ever dread, and eternal life thou shalt with great earnestness earn, and every day thou shalt ween (consider) of death.* These words are found in the Capitulars of Theodulf, Bishop of Orleans.

¹⁷ Ne mæg se næfre þeran clæne se þe nýle his rýnna ƷeƷpican. ær his ende-dæg. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 85.) *He can never be clean, who will not cease from his sins, ere his ending-day.*

¹⁸ Witodlice ne býð nane mænn dædbote alefð æfter þýrren life. ac hæfð ælghýlc an Ʒpa Ʒpa he her Ʒeearned. Ʒpa Ʒod. Ʒpa ýfel. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Vespasian, D. 14.) *Truly penance is allowed to no men after this life, but every one hath even as he here earned, whether good or evil.*

¹⁹ On þýrrepe Ʒopulde se biððað ure rýnna ƷoƷiƷifennýrre 7 na on þære toƷeƷðan. Se man þe nele his rýnna behƷeoƷian on his life. ne beƷýc

he nane forȝyƿennȳrre on þam toƿerðan. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Vitellius, C. 5.) *In this world we pray the forgiveness of our sins, and not in that to come. The man who will not repent of his sins in his life, he gets no forgiveness in that to come.*

²⁰ Thus the following passage from a *threnodia*, on the death of Edward the Confessor, printed and translated by the present learned President of Trinity College, Oxford, (Sax. Chr. p. 256.) represents, in the following words, the king's soul as transferred immediately into the light of heaven :

“ Until suddenly came
The bitter death,
And this king so dear
Snatched from the earth.
Angels carried
His soul sincere
Into the light of heaven.”

²¹ Witodlice ꝥ ƿerȝen 7 ꝥ ƿeoƿerȝi ȝeapa ƿæc iſ ure andbiððunȝ on miſtlicum corȝnunȝum æfter ƿurum ƿulluhte. oð ðæt ƿe becomon. þurh ȝe-healdſumnȳrre ȝoder beboða. to þam uplican eðele. on þa ðe ƿe ecelice eapðian ȝceolon. (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. Ii. 4—6. p. 173.) *Truly the wilderness, and the space of forty years are our abiding in various temptations after our baptism, until we come, through the keeping of God's commandments, to the exalted country in which we shall dwell for ever.*

²² Ðanne bið ðær halȝan manneſ ȝaul ƿitodlice þanne heo of þam lichaman ȝangeð ȝeoƿon riðum heo bið beophȝe þanne ȝunne. 7 þa halȝan ȝoder ænȝlar hie læðað to ƿapaðȝum. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 85.) *Then truly is the holy man's soul, when*

it goeth from the body, seven times brighter than the sun, and the holy God's angels lead it to paradise.

²³ We soðlice þe to þære endlȳrtan tide comon æfter urum ȝerrince natehpon ne ceorpað. ⁊ pe underpoð þone pening. Forðam pe þe cumað æfter þær hælender menniscnȳrre pe beoð ȝelædde to hir rice þær rihte æfter urum forðrīde. ȝif pe ær on life rihtlice leofodon. ⁊ pe þonne buton ȝldunȝe underpoð ꝥ ꝥ þa ealdan fæderas æfter langrumpe elcunȝe underfenzon. (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. Ii. 4—6. p. 38.) *We, truly, who have come, at the eleventh tide (hour), after our labour, by no means should murmur, but should take the penny. Because we come after the Saviour's human nature, we are led to his kingdom straight-ways, after our departure, if we before in life lived rightly; and we then, without delay, receive that which the old fathers, after a longsime waiting, received.*

²⁴ Eall middan-eapð bið þonne on dæg byrnende. ⁊ eall mancȳn sceal þænne of deaðe arisan. ⁊ þurh ꝥ fȳr to þam dome faran. ⁊ pe bið þonne rīde clæne ælcepe rȳnne ȝe ðe þæne brȳne ðurh-færð unberenced. Ðær bið ðonne on dæg ȝrȳne ȝe mærcas forþam þurh ȝodes mihte. bið eal arȳned. ȝe heofon ȝered. ȝe eorð ȝered. ȝe hell ȝered. ⁊ eal hit bið biȳende. ⁊ cȳciende. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 99. f. 14.) *All the earth will be burning on that day, (the day of judgment,) and all mankind shall then from death arise, and through that fire to judgment go; and we shall then be perfectly clean from every sin (those of us), who pass through that fire unsinged. There will be, on that day, the greatest horror, for, through*

God's might, all will be moved, both the heavenly company, and the earthly company, and the company of hell: and all will be trembling and quaking.

²⁵ Se hælend beleac þiſſ Ʒoðſpell mið þýren ƿorðen. Ðeoƿon Ʒ eoſðe Ʒeƿiteð. Ʒ mine ƿorð næſſe Ʒeƿiteð. Ne aƿænðað heoƿon Ʒ eoſðe to nahte. ac heo býð aƿænðe of þam heope þe heo nu on-ƿunizeð to beteran heope. ƿƿa ƿƿa iohanneſ ƿe Ʒoðſpelleſe cƿæð. Ðonne býð niƿe heoƿone Ʒ neope eoſðe. Ne býð ƿitodlice oðre Ʒeſceapene. ac þaſ býð Ʒeednýrode. Ðeoƿon Ʒ eoſðe Ʒeƿiteð Ʒ ðeh þuſhpunizeð. ƿorðan þe heo býð ƿƿam þan heope þe heo nu habbað þuſh ƿýſ Ʒeclænrode. (Brit. Mus. MSS. Cotton. Vespasian, D. 14. ex Hom. cui titulus D^{MC} 11 Ʒn aduentu dñi. f. 78.) *Jesus concluded this Gospell with these words: Heaven and earth shall pass away, and my words never shall pass away. Heaven and earth will not be turned into nought, but they will be changed from the hue in which they now continue to a better hue: even as Iohannes the gosseller saith; then shall be a new heaven and a new earth. Others, indeed, will not be created, but these will be renewed. Heaven and earth will pass away, and yet will continue, because that they will be from the hue which they now have, through fire, cleansed.*

In another part of the same MS. volume is an account of portents, fifteen days in continuance, which are immediately to precede, it is said, the day of judgment. One portent is assigned to each day. The following extract relates to the last two days. (f. 100.)

On þan ƿeoƿeſtenðe ðæize ealle libbenðe menn

ȝeƿurðeð ðeade ȝƿa þ̅ heora nan ne bȳð ȝebȳroð·
 ac ƿȳr cumð ȝ ƿorbærnð þa eorðe· ƿorðan þe
 heo ƿorcnede þa ȝynfulle ȝ þa anleare. On þan
 ƿiſtenðe ðæize cumð ƿloð ȝ ȝerƿȳleð þa ærren· ȝ
 beȝæncð ealle þa unclænnȳrren into þære eorðe
 ðeornȳrre· ȝƿa þ̅ on miððan earðe ne belæƿð naht
 unclæner ȝerene. *On the fourteenth day all living
 men will be dead, as if none of them had been born:
 and fire will come and burn away the earth, be-
 cause it fostered the sinful and the impious. On
 the fifteenth day will come a flood, and swill (wash)
 the ashes, and sink all the uncleannesses into the
 earth's deepness; so that in the earth will not re-
 main any uncleanness seen.*

²⁶ The spirit of Fursey, during an illness of his,
 we are told, was once ravished from his body from
 even-tide to cock-crowing. In its absence from the
 world it was gratified with a sight of the angelic
 hosts, and of their heavenly occupations. After an
 interval of three days the favoured invalid was again
 conveyed in spirit beyond the limits of the world,
 and he then beheld more of celestial joys. His
 angelic conductors, however, would not allow him
 to fix his whole attention upon these delightful
 scenes. They desired him to look downwards, and
 he saw below him, in the air, four fires blazing at
 short distances from each other. "What are these?"
 he asked. "They are the fires," it was replied,
 "which will consume the world. One is the fire
 of falsehood, another that of cupidity, the third
 that of dissension, the fourth that of impiety."
 Continuing to look upon them, Fursey observed
 them rapidly increase, until they formed one mighty
 conflagration. He then, being near the flame, be-

came alarmed. One of the angels, however, desired him to dismiss his apprehensions, as none of these fires would affect him, unless he had contributed to the lighting of it. The object of all the four, it was added, was to examine the works of men; every one's evil qualities involving him in a mass of flame as soon as he entered that particular fire which these miscarriages had helped to kindle. A passage was now made for the visitors through the flames, and Furseý saw many whom he had known on earth; and held with some of them interesting conversations. He saw likewise the demons tormenting their unhappy victims. One of these was thrown at him by the infernal torturers, which, striking him on the shoulder and cheek, burnt both these parts of his body. Furseý recognized in the miserable ghost which had unwillingly inflicted these injuries upon his person, an individual whose garment he had received at the approach of death. One of the angels, observing his uneasiness, seized the burning spirit and hurled him back again into the fiery gulf. A devil on this exclaimed, "Refuse not now what you received before. You shared this sinner's goods, you ought also to share his punishment." The angel, however, answered, "He took not his goods from covetousness, but with a view to save his soul." Then turning to Furseý, he said, "What thou kindledst, that burnt in thee. Hadst thou not received the property of this sinner when he died, his punishment would not have left these marks upon thy body." Furseý was then acquainted with much valuable information respecting the treatment of penitents. On his return to the body he was found

to bear marks of the injuries in his cheek and shoulder, which had been inflicted on them by the contact of the burning ghost, and he continued to bear these marks to the day of his death.

That this eminent missionary had received some visible injury from fire is probably the truth, and it is not unlikely that an accident, occasioning such disfigurements, happened to him while deprived of his recollection by sickness. All the rest plainly amounts to nothing more than a religious sick man's dreams, embellished in his waking hours. Fursey himself, it might seem, was rather inclined to view the matter thus in his cooler moments; for he was by no means fond of telling the tale. It was, however, told incessantly by others; a Saxon homily descants upon it, and what is more lamentable still, Cardinal Bellarmine, eminent as he was for learning and acuteness, appeals to it as a proof of purgatory. The story may be seen in Bede, (lib. III. cap. 19. ed. Wheloc. p. 209.) the homily in the Bodleian library (MSS. Junii 23. Hom. 8.), and in other MS. collections of Saxon homilies. Mr. Southey, in his excellent *Vindiciæ Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, (Lond. 1826. p. 137. et seqq.) relates Fursey's vision more at length, accompanying it with some judicious observations, and he subjoins to it an account of the saint's life.

²⁷ Drighthelm, a Northumbrian of substance, like his fellow-dreamer, Fursey, required the pressure of illness to render his imagination sufficiently prolific. Being thus prepared, he passed the whole of one night in a state of seeming death. On recovering his bodily faculties, he said that his spirit really had been absent from its earthly tenement, as his friends

supposed, and had, during such absence, been conducted by an angel into the invisible world. The first object seen there was a valley, considerable in depth and breadth, and infinite in length, occupied, on one side, by a region of fire, on the other, by a region of intense frost. In both these quarters were crowds of human souls, which, being tortured unbearably on either side, flitted unceasingly across the vale: thus exposing themselves, under the impatience of despair, to constant and rapid alterations of fire and frost. This was a place, as Drighthelm was informed, in which the spirits were confined of those, who, having deferred confession and amendment to the very end of life, but being truly repentant then, were doomed to feel these distressing transitions from scorching heat to piercing cold, for their examination and castigation: heaven being in store for them on the day of judgment at farthest. But it was added, the prayers of survivors, alms, fasts, and above all the celebration of masses, may help them out of this unhappy region of extremes, something before the final consummation. Drighthelm also was taken to see an enormous pit, from which incessantly arose masses of fire, and an overpowering stench. The burning masses were full of human souls, the horror of whose condition was fearfully attested by lamentable groans. To other inhabitants of this fell abode, however, the miseries which excited these expressions of anguish were a source of merriment. Demons appeared to have been rendered thereby callous to their own sufferings, and hence indulged in continuous shouts of laughter. Some of these infernal spirits espying Drighthelm, arose with burning tongs, and

endeavouring to seize him, filled him with alarm. His heavenly conductor, however, delivered him from their power, and informed him that this pit was hell; a horrible abyss, into which a fall was hopeless. The entranced Northumbrian likewise was indulged with a sight of a most delightful plain, perfumed by vernal flowers, and occupied by companies of blissful individuals clothed in white. This was the abode of those spirits which had left the world in virtue, but wanting something of perfection, were not to enter heaven until the day of judgment. Nor was Drighthelm denied a glimpse of heaven itself, and he was told, that those who die perfect in word and deed, are immediately admitted within its portals. (Bed. Eccl. Hist. lib. V. c. 13. ed. Wheloc. p. 411.)

Mr. Southey, who, in his *Vindiciæ*, (p. 174.) relates this poetic tale with greater fulness, has well observed of St. Fursey's vision, that it may be justly compared to the dream in *Pilgrim's Progress*. The same thing may be fairly said of both these ancient visions; and, perhaps, the more discerning propagators of both looked upon them rather as popular vehicles of instruction than as realities.

The doctrines inculcated in the two visions are evidently these following: That the best men pass directly from human life to heaven, the worst men to hell: that men who have spent a considerable space of time not unworthily of their Christian calling, pass directly from human life to paradise, while those who have deferred repentance until they come to die, but then have effected it, pass into purgatory. This last principle is thus asserted in the explanatory speech of the angel to

Drighthelm, as found in the homily upon that ascetic's vision.

Seo mýcle býnnende ðene þe ðu æperƿ ƿeraze
iƿ ƿitnunƿ ƿƿopa· on þæra beoð þære monna ƿapla
ƿeritnode ƿ ƿeclænƿode þe nolƿon heopa ƿýnna
þurh anðetnerre ƿ ðædbote ƿerihƿlæcan on life.
Ac hi hæƿƿon ƿƿa þeah behneorunƿe æt hýra
enðe-nextan ðæƿe· ƿ ƿƿa ƿeriton mið þære beh-
neorunƿe of ƿeopƿe ƿ becumað on ðomeƿ-ðæƿe
ealle to heoponan ƿice. Eac hi ƿume þurh holðra
monna ƿultume· ƿ þurh ealmeƿ-ðæðum ðe hi mon
ƿope ðoð· ƿ ealra ƿƿiðorƿ þurh þa halize meƿƿan
hi beoð alýrðe of þam ƿitum æƿ þam mýclum
ðome. (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. Ii. 1—33. p. 442.)

*The great burning vale, which thou sawest before,
is a punishing-place, in which the souls are pun-
ished and cleansed of those men who would not
correct their sins, through confession and peni-
tence, in life. But yet they had repentance at their
last day, and so passed repentant from the world,
and they will all come, on doom's-day, to the king-
dom of heaven. Also some of them, through the
aid of friendly people, and through alms-deeds,
which men do for them, and most of all, through
the holy mass, are released from the punishments
ere the great judgment.*

²⁸ Ný na eallum mannum ƿe ƿemænlica ðeað
ƿelice eapƿoðe· ac ƿop-ofƿ becýmð þam ƿýnƿullan
menn ƿumeƿa ƿýnna ƿopƿýƿennýrre þurh þone
eapƿoðan ðeað þe hýne ƿƿa ƿƿiðe ðƿelhte· ƿ þurh
þone oƿan þær eƿerhcan ðeaðer. Sum eac bliƿ-
riað on heopa ƿonð-ƿiðe ƿop-ofƿ· þonne hý ƿitod-
lice ƿereoð þ hý ƿeolan to ƿerƿe· anð ƿlaðað þonne
ƿeo ƿapule· ƿ ƿƿa ƿerit of life. Sumera manna

rapula riðiað to ƿeſte· æfter heora forð-riðe· 7
 ƿume ƿarað to ƿitum be þam þe hi ƿorhton ær·
 7 beoð eft alýreðe þurh ælmeſ-dæda· 7 ƿriðort
 þurh þa mæſſan· 3if him man ƿore ðeð· 7
 ƿume beoð for-ðeinde mid þam ðeoſle to helle·
 ne cýmð he næfre þanon· 7 ƿe þe æne cýmð to
 ƿeſte ne cýmð he næfre to ƿitum· Seo ƿapul
 hæfð· ƿpa ƿpa ur ƿecgað bec· þæſ lichoman ƿelic-
 nýſſe on eallum heora limum· 7 heo ƿeſnet ƿoſt-
 nýſſe oððe ƿarnýſſe· ƿpa hpæðer ƿpa heo on
 bið· be þam þe heo ƿeeapnode ær· Sume leah-
 tƿar beoð on þiſſum liſe ƿebette· 7 ƿume æfter
 ðeaðe· ƿpa ƿpa ure ðrihten ƿæðe· ac þa micclan
 ƿýnna ne maƿon þær beon ƿebette· ne þam forðo-
 nan ne ƿremmað þ̅ þ̅ him man ƿore-ðeð· forðam
 þe he hiſ ne ƿeeapnode ær on hiſ liſe· Ða leohƿan
 ƿýltar 7 þa lýtlan ƿýnna beoð þonne aƿeornode
 þurh þ̅ ƿitmenðlice ƿýr· 7 niſ naner cýnner ƿite
 on þiſſere ƿopulðe ƿpa teart ƿpa ƿpa þ̅ ƿoreſæðe
 ƿýr þe aƿeornað þa ƿýmelearan· Sume beoð þær
 lanƿe· ƿume lýtle hpile· be þam þe him ƿore
 beoð hiſ ƿƿeond her on liſe· 7 be þam þe he ƿe-
 earpnode ær on hiſ liſe· 7 ælc mæg tocnapan
 oþerne on þam liſe· 7 þa þe to ƿeſte becumað on-
 cnapað ƿoðlice ƿe þa þe hi ær cuðon· ƿe þa þe hi
 na ne cuðon· forðam þe hi on ƿel ðædum ƿæron
 ær ƿelice· And þa halƿan ƿapla þe on heoponum
 ƿuniað ƿebiððað for ur þe on eorðan ƿuniað· 7
 eac for þam ƿaplum þe ƿýndon on ƿitum· 7 hi
 habbað ƿemýnd heora holdra ƿƿeonda· 7 ƿe ma-
 ƿon eac þinƿian for þam þe on ƿitum beoð· 7 ƿƿi-
 ðurt þurh þa mæſſan· ƿpa ƿpa ur ƿecgað bec· ac
 þam þe on helle beoð ne helpeð nan ƿore þinƿunƿ.
 (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 99. Sermo ad Populum in

Octavis Pentecosten. f. 107.) *The common death is not alike difficult to all men, but often cometh to sinful men forgiveness of some sins through the difficult death which so violently distressed them, and through the fear of dreadful death. Some also rejoyce in their departure, occasionally, when they truly see that they are going to rest, and the soul gladdens and departs. Some men's souls go to rest, after their departure, and those of some, go to punishments, according to that which they wrought before, and are afterwards released through alms-deeds, and especially through the mass, if men do (these things) for them: and some are condemned with the devil to hell. They come never thence; and he who once cometh to rest, never comes to punishments. The soul hath truly, even as books tell us, the likeness of the body in all its limbs, and it feels softness or soreness wherever it is, according to that which it earned before. Some vices are in this life amended, and some after death; even as our Lord said. But the great sins may not be amended there; nor profiteth it the lost that which men do for them, because they deserved nothing before in life. Light crimes and little sins are then purged through the penal fire; and there is a punishment of no kind in this world so tart as that foresaid fire which purgeth the negligent. Some are there long, some a little while, according to what their friends do for them here, in life, and according to what they earned before, in life: each knows another, and those who come to rest know truly both those whom they knew before, and those whom they knew not, because they were in well deeds before alike. And the holy*

souls which dwell in heaven pray for us who dwell on earth, and also for the souls which are in punishments; and they have a recollection of their faithful friends; and we may also intercede for those who are in punishments; and especially through the mass, even as books tell us: but for those who are in hell no intercession availeth.

This plain mention of purgatory appears capable of reference, not unreasonably, to the eleventh century, because the volume from which it is extracted, (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 99. f. 84.) contains a homily thus entitled: *Sermo Lupi quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos: Quod fuit in Dies Æthelredi Regis.* Against this is written in very small characters, and in a hand by no means modern, *Anno Christi 1009.*

Before the subject of Anglo-Saxon opinions upon purgatory is dismissed, it may be well to mention Alfred's view of the question. That admirable sovereign, then, thus paraphrases the following words of Boethius, "*Sed quæso, inquam, te, nullane animarum supplicia post defunctum morte corpus relinquis? Et magna, quidem, inquit: quorum alia pœnali acerbitate, alia vero purgatoria clementia exerceri puto.*" (Boet. de Consol. lib. IV. pros. IV. ed. Valpy, p. 335.) "But I beseech thee, now, that thou wouldest tell me, whether thou thinkest that the wicked have any punishment after this world; or the good any reward for their goodness? Then said he; Did not I say to thee before, that the good have recompense for their goodness, both here and also for ever? But I will now divide the wicked from the wicked, in two parts. For one part of the wicked shall have eternal punishment,

because they have deserved no mercy; and the other part shall be purified and proved in the heavenly fire, as silver here is, because it has some deserts of mercy, wherefore, it may, after these troubles, come to everlasting honour." (King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of Boethius, by J. S. Cardale, Lond. 1829. p. 313.)

From this amplification of a mere hint in his original, it is plain that the royal paraphrast had adopted the popular speculations respecting a purgatorial fire.

²⁹ "Item si vere pœnitentibus in Dei caritate decesserint, antequam dignis pœnitentiæ fructibus de commissis satisfecerint et omissis, eorum animas pœnis purgatoriis post mortem purgari, et ut a pœnis hujusmodi releventur, prodesse eis fidelium vivorum suffragia, missarum, scilicet, sacrificia, orationes, et eleemosynas, et alia pietatis officia, quæ a fidelibus pro aliis fidelibus fieri consueverunt, secundum Ecclesiæ instituta: illorumque animas, qui post baptismum susceptum, nullam omnino peccati maculam incurrerunt; illas etiam, quæ post contractam peccati maculam, vel in suis corporibus, vel eisdem exutæ corporibus, prout superius dictum est, sunt purgatæ, in cœlum mox recipi, et intueri clare ipsum Deum, trinum et unum, sicuti est, pro meritorum tamen diversitate, alium alio perfectius: illorum autem animas, qui, in actuali mortali peccato, vel solo originali decessunt, mox in infernum descendere, pœnis tamen disparibus puniendas." (Definitio Sanct. Œcum. Synod. Florent. A. D. 1439. Labb. et Coss. XIII. 515.)

"Cum Catholica Ecclesia, Spiritu Sancto edocta, et sacris literis, et antiqua Patrum traditione in

sacris conciliis, et novissime in hac œcumenica synodo, docuerit purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis, potissimum vero acceptabili altaris sacrificio, juvari; præcipit sancta synodus episcopis, ut sanam de purgatorio doctrinam, a sanctis Patribus, et conciliis traditam, a Christi fidelibus credi, teneri, doceri, et ubique prædicari diligenter studeant." (Conc. Trident. Sess. XXV. 3 et 4. Dec. 1563. Labb. et Coss. XIV. 894.

"Præterea est purgatorius ignis, quo piorum animæ ad definitum tempus cruciatæ expiantur, ut eis in æternam patriam ingressus patere possit, in quam nihil coinquinatam ingreditur." (Catechism. ad Paroch. Pars I. c. v. edit. Lovan. 1662. p. 53.)

"Constanter teneo purgatorium esse, animasque ibi detentas fidelium suffragiis juvari." (Profess. Fid. Trident. ex Bull. Pii Papæ IV.)

Of these authentic declarations respecting purgatory it may be observed, that the first restricts the benefits of that place to those who die truly repentant. This is agreeable to the Anglo-Saxon notion, but it is at variance with the doctrine of the Trentine Catechism, which offers to men the *easier way* of salvation through mere attrition. The two councils also say nothing of the place in which purgatory is likely to be found, or of the kind of punishment which awaits men there. Hence Cardinal Bellarmine observes that the Church has defined nothing upon these two questions. Is not, however, that assertion somewhat invalidated by the words of the Trentine Catechism? This last authority coincides with Anglo-Saxon opinions upon the subject. Nor, if it be understood that an expectation of material fire in purgatory is not *de*

fide, and Bellarmine not unreasonably, as it seems, says that it is not, (Controv. II. 263.) will it be difficult to explain away the whole doctrine. Romanists may of course believe that human souls departing in faith and penitence are sequestered in some place until the day of judgment, in which they suffer under a degree of regret and shame, on account of the sins committed in life. This, however, is not answerable to Anglo-Saxon speculations upon purgatory, nor is it to those which prevail among Romanists. If it were, indulgences, and masses for the dead would quickly fall into disrepute.

³⁰ “Restat ergo reatus poenæ, et peccata venialia, quæ proprie dici possunt reliquæ peccatorum; ob quas est purgatorium.” Bellarm. Controv. II. 262.

³¹ “Whereas the soul is but in an imperfect state of happiness till the resurrection, when the whole man shall obtain a complete victory over death, and by the last judgment be established in an endless state of consummate happiness and glory; the Church had a particular respect to this in her prayers for the righteous, that both the living and the dead might finally attain this blessed estate of a glorious resurrection.” (Bingham, b. XV. c. iii. sect. 16. Lond. 1726. p. 759.) “But in these ancient times men were not under any obligation to offer their devotions for the dead upon a supposition that their souls were in purgatory; but upon another principle, universally granted, viz. that they were in a very imperfect state of happiness.” Johnson’s *Collection of Ecclesiastical Laws concerning the Church of England*, Lond. 1720. Pref. p. xix.

³² “Et eodem anno, post Pascha, Æthered (*sic*)

rex præfatus, regno per quinque annos strenue atque honorabiliter cum bona fama gubernato, viam universitatis abiens, in Winburnam monasterio sepultus, adventum Domini, *et primam cum justis resurrectionem expectat.*" (Asserius Menevensis de Rebus Gestis Ælfredi Magni, ex edit. Fr. Wise, A. M. Oxon. 1722. p. 24.)

³³ " Burghredum quoque Merciorum regem, regnum suum deserere, et Romam adire contra voluntatem suam coegit supra memoratus sæpe exercitus (*Danorum sc.*) vigesimo secundo regni sui anno; qui postquam Romam adierat, non diu vivens, in ecclesia Sanctæ Mariæ honorifice sepultus, adventum Domini, *et primam cum justis resurrectionem expectat.*" (Ibid. p. 26.)

Upon this subject the following passage in the celebrated work of Peter Lombard is not unworthy of attention.

" Post hoc quæri solet si beatitudo sanctorum major sit futura post judicium, quam interim. *Sine omni scrupulo credendum est eos habituros majorem gloriam post judicium quam ante: quare et majus erit gaudium eorum.*" (Text. Mag. Sentent. lib. IV. dist. 49. 1528. f. 110.)

Archbishop Usher, after citing various prayers for the dead, thus remarks upon them. " In these, and other prayers of like kind, we may discern evident footsteps of the primary intention of the Church, in her supplications for the dead: which was, that the whole man (not the soul separated only) might receive public remission of sins, and a solemn acquittal, in the judgment of that great day, and so obtain both a full escape from all the consequences of sin, (*the last enemy being now de-*

stroyed, and death swallowed up in victory,) and a perfect consummation of bliss and happiness. All which are comprised in that short praier of S. Paul for Onesiphorus, (though made for him while he was alive :) *The Lord grant unto him, that he may find mercy of the Lord in that day.*” Answer to the Jesuit’s Challenge, Lond. 6131. p. 224.

³⁴ “ Quamdiu nulla fuit de purgatorio cura, nemo quæsit indulgentias. Nam ex illo pendet omnis indulgentiarum existimatio. Si tollas purgatorium, quorsum indulgentiis opus erit? His enim, si nulum fuerit purgatorium, nihil indigebimus. Contemplantes igitur aliquamdiu purgatorium incognitum fuisse, deinde quibusdam pedentem, partim ex revelationibus, partim ex scripturis fuisse creditum, atque ita tandem generatim ejus fidem ab orthodoxa Ecclesia fuisse receptissimam, facillime rationem aliquam indulgentiarum intelligimus.” Joan. Fisher. Roff. Ep. contra Luther. art. XVIII. p. 497.

SERMON VII.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

2 THESS. ii. 15.

Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which ye have been taught, whether by word, or our epistle.

THE two last discourses offered to your notice the main pillars, probably, of that extensive empire which the Church of Rome has gained. What assurance can fall more agreeably upon human ears, than that eternal salvation awaits the soul of every attrite sinner duly submissive to the priestly voice? And when transgression is menaced, notwithstanding, by temporary pains, how gratefully does fallen man reflect, that these may safely be deferred until the eyes are closed in death, and their rigours then be most materially mitigated by alms and masses! But, besides these provisions for leaving undisturbed the carnal security and sinful indulgences to which men so fondly cling, the papal system possesses also another most prominent and

powerful hold upon their affections. Are not the eucharistic doctrines of their Church the principal sources of that ritual pageantry which enchains the admiration of Romish worshippers? Does not a belief in the corporal presence and transubstantiation lead them to invest their own devotions with a character immeasurably superior to those of all other Christians? Amidst their public offices of piety they detect a present Deity, veiled, indeed, from human gaze, but yet sensibly claiming adoration. What honours shall be deemed excessive to greet a presence so august? Alas! has not transubstantiation also generally supplied incentives to those cruel ebullitions of intolerance which have, during these later ages, brought so much unmerited discredit upon the Gospel of our meek and gracious Master? What but exasperated zeal for this mysterious doctrine has bidden the persecuting pyre to shoot, in Christian countries, its lurid blaze toward the firmament of heaven? Whence has calumnious profaneness drawn more frequently and speciously its aspersions upon our holy faith, than from conspicuous instances of that inhuman and infatuated policy which has asserted our Lord's corporal presence in the Eucharist, amidst a deluge of human blood?

Surely if a doctrine thus impressive, yet to human sense thus incredible, rest upon a divine or apostolical tradition, there must be traces of it imprinted deeply, clearly, and indelibly upon the records of every age in the Church's history. Ecclesiastical antiquity must afford examples of heathen scoffs, heretical cavils, philosophical refinements, excited by the daily repetition of a miracle so stupendous, yet eluding so completely man's natural apprehensions. The earliest apologists for our religion must have left arguments in its defence, the earliest liturgists must have made provision for adoring the incarnate Saviour, when sensibly drawn, by priestly consecration, from the right hand of his Father's majesty. Such inferences are indeed highly reasonable; but upon them signal disappointment waits. Antiquity supplies nothing beyond incidental, inconsistent, and disputable authorities in favour of our blessed Lord's corporal presence in the Eucharist. The implacable malignity of paganism, and the restless, perverse ingenuity of heresy, appear to have overlooked this doctrine. The Fathers, accordingly, have left no controversial pieces in its defence. Even the most ancient directors of public worship have wholly omitted those becoming provi-

sions which it obviously demands. Embarrassing as are these notorious and indisputable facts to advocates of a belief in transubstantiation, it is asserted, notwithstanding, that the Catholic Church has holden this doctrine in every age, although long in the undisturbed, and therefore unnoticed, assurance of faith. If this representation, however, be really worthy of reliance, at least inferential evidence in its favour must be supplied by the early religious records of every Christian country. Let the case, then, be tried by such remains as the theological school of ancient England has left behind.

Upon Gregory, the Apostle of our Saxon fathers, according to their current phraseology, let attention first be fixed. From him, surely, they could not fail of being "taught traditions" in perfect unison with those eucharistic doctrines which are among the most prominent and important peculiarities of the Romish creed. A prayer, however, anciently found in his Sacramentary, but long banished from its pages, and brought again to light at a period comparatively recent, affords abundant reason for abandoning any such expectation. This interesting remain of antiquity designates the Eucharist as "a pledge of eternal life," and "a sacramental image¹." In

Gregory's apprehension, therefore, communicants received not the Saviour's substance, only a "pledge and an image." Hence we can understand sufficiently why this pontiff's liturgical productions, like those of earlier periods, offer no directions for adoring the holy Sacrament. Fond as Gregory was of ritual pomp, who would expect him to enjoin the worship of "a pledge and an image?" On the other hand, had he looked upon consecration as removing earthly substances from the altar, and placing in their stead an incarnation of the Deity, was he not of all men most unlikely to forget the homage justly claimed by the Saviour corporally present? An omission of this kind, occurring in such a quarter, must alone supply a powerful inference against the doctrine of transubstantiation².

That our ancestors, however, were indeed "taught no such tradition" by their earliest instructors in the faith of Jesus appears sufficiently from the works of Bede. That luminary of ancient England evinces in numerous instances his entire agreement with his great authorities St. Jerome³ and St. Austin⁴, in attributing to our Lord's eucharistic presence a character merely spiritual. The holy Supper he represents as the natural and legi-

timate successor of the Passover ; the latter solemnity commemorating God's mercy in delivering his ancient people from Egyptian bondage ; the former, that more important deliverance which Christ has wrought for those who "love him and keep his commandments^a." Who would not at once infer from such a parallel that the venerable writer attributed a figurative character to both these holy ordinances ? Bede, however, allows not any doubt as to his conceptions. He proceeds to teach, that the sacramental bread has a *mystical* reference to the body of our blessed Lord, the wine to his blood. These elements are not, then, in his opinion, an incarnation of the Saviour, veiled under illusory forms, and presenting to the eye of faith a substance immeasurably different from that which is detected by unassisted human apprehensions. Their superiority over other substances of the same kinds arises from no material change, but only from spiritual use. Again ; the father of our national theology maintains, that those who eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, dwell in him, and that he dwells in them. Hence, all such as are not united spiritually with the Saviour are excluded from feeding upon his blessed body and

^a St. John xiv. 15.

blood. Our gracious Master's language, in promising such a repast, is indeed expressly styled "mystical." More plainly still, in commenting upon the Psalms, Bede affirms, that Jesus gave to his disciples, at the last Supper, "the *figure* of his holy body and blood." This passage is obviously decisive. It hence appears abundantly, that from the great spiritual guide of our distant ancestors they could never have imbibed the Romish eucharistic doctrines. Nor in reality is this fact proved less effectually from Bede's parallel between the Lord's Supper and the Passover. In the former celebration, we are told, Jesus "substituted for the flesh and blood of a lamb the *sacrament* of his own body and blood⁵." In the days of our venerable countryman, we are assured expressly, the term *sacrament* meant a *sacred sign*⁶. The Son of man, then, in instituting the holy Supper, did not remove a shadow to make way for a substance. He merely substituted one sacred sign for another.

In the same spirit of interpretation Alcuin speaks of our Lord's presence in the world. After his ascension, Jesus, we are told, became absent carnally from this lower scene. In his divinity he will be present with his faithful people to the end of time. And

could such language be deliberately used by a scholarly believer in transubstantiation? Do not those who hold that doctrine consider the very flesh of their blessed Master to be daily presented, under a veil, indeed, but palpably, notwithstanding, to the senses of all who frequent the eucharistic sacrifice? It is also worthy of remark, that Alcuin represents the act of our adorable Saviour, at the last Supper, as a consecration merely, the offering being that of himself⁷. Thus our illustrious countryman, far from affording such favourable inferential evidence as, at least, a belief in transubstantiation indispensably requires, even adds to the weight of direct testimony against that doctrine.

Alcuin's imperial friend, and pupil in theology, allows not, however, any doubt as to that celebrated scholar's rejection of the corporal presence. Charlemain plainly designates, in a letter to him, the bread and wine given by Jesus to his disciples, at his parting Paschal meal, as "a *figure* of his body and blood, and as the exhibition of a mighty sacrament, highly beneficial to mankind." Nor in those books against the worship of images, for which the world is, probably, largely indebted to Alcuin's pen, does the Emperor fail of asserting, in repeated instances, the

mystical and sacramental, that is, figurative character of the holy Supper⁸.

But the most famous of those whom Alcuin formed to intellectual eminence was Raban Maur. This illustrious metropolitan is commemorated by Baronius, Bellarmine, and Sixtus of Sienna, as *profoundly learned, the brilliant star of Germany, the prince of contemporary divines, equally an example of piety and erudition, a perfect master of rhetoric, poetry, philosophy, theology*⁹. Our national school might well be proud of producing such a pupil; and its eucharistic doctrines are not likely to be learnt from any abler, safer, more honoured pen. How, then, does Raban's testimony affect the most prominent, the "great burning article of the Romish creed," as Archbishop Tillotson has strongly but aptly, and not unfairly, called it¹⁰? The Moguntine metropolitan plainly pronounces the consecrated elements liable to all the accidents of ordinary food; a position utterly irreconcilable with a belief in transubstantiation; a position which, indeed, those who hold that doctrine *must* and *do* consider disgusting, intolerable, and even blasphemous. He restricts the eating of Christ's body to the faithful; those, namely, who, living in obedience and piety, are careful to comport

themselves as members of the Saviour. He pronounces, that the consecrated elements pass, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, into a sacrament, that is, a sacred sign, of our Lord's body. He draws a parallel between the act of Moses, in establishing God's covenant with his ancient people, and the act of Jesus, in his last Paschal supper. Hence he describes the eucharistic cup as mystical and typical¹¹. Thus this *brilliant star*, this *perfect master of theology*, this *eminently pious prelate*, whom Romish authors, in their eager appropriation of every celebrated ancient name, are so anxious to claim as their own, and who certainly sheds no common lustre upon our Anglo-Saxon school, is convicted of an utter disbelief in the principal distinctive doctrine of the modern papal Church. Raban's testimonies against this doctrine are indeed so repeated, plain, and utterly unmanageable, that a mark of obloquy was early placed against his name. William of Malmesbury, accordingly, admonishes his readers to beware of this famous prelate, as being tainted with a most offensive unsoundness of opinion respecting the blessed Sacrament; and he stigmatizes him besides as a mere plagiarist, whose writings are worthy only of oblivion.

This alleged unsoundness, however, evi-

dently flowed from no headiness, no love of singularity and novelty, on Raban's part. It was plainly acquired under Alcuin's tuition. Haymo of Halberstadt, accordingly, an Englishman by birth, it is believed, and undoubtedly a fellow-pupil with the celebrated archbishop of Mentz, falls but little short of him in evincing that the eucharistic traditions taught in our ancient Church were widely different from those of modern Rome. Haymo explains our blessed Lord's language, as to the eating of his flesh, and the drinking of his blood, by the union subsisting between him and his faithful people. Like Raban, he copies Bede, in drawing an analogy between the Passover and the last Supper. He describes the consecrated bread as the true body of Christ to those who are predestined to eternal life. It is not, then, the true body of Christ to reprobates. Again; he says expressly that our Lord's "body and blood are called a sacrament, that is, a sacred sign¹³." This passage is conclusive. We have here another divine of the English school, who not only withholds that inferential evidence in favour of transubstantiation, which, at least, the doctrine requires, but who plainly ascribes a figurative character to the eucharistic elements.

Druthmar of Corbey, also, said to have been a disciple of Bede, designates the Eucharist as the *sacrament* of Christ's body and blood; and speaks of it unequivocally, as figurative in its nature. He likewise adopts a beautiful comparison from Sedulius, a native of these islands, and probably contemporary with him, which a believer in the corporal presence would be very little likely to approve. Sedulius happily describes the last Supper as a meal taken, amidst a company of loved associates, by one about to leave them for a distant journey, and desirous of prescribing to them some significant ceremony, of which their affection for him should ensure the constant repetition, and which should thus incessantly recall his claims to their kind and grateful recollection¹⁴.

While our national school of theology was thus adorned by the mightiest names of their age, and was bearing such decided testimony against a belief in transubstantiation, Paschasius Radbert offered to the world his famous assertion of the corporal presence. This doctrine was thus reduced to that tangible form which calls for a distinct approbation or denial. What, then, was now the conduct of those luminaries who had been trained, under English instruction, to direct public opinion?

Did they look unconcernedly upon the controversy, thus shewing themselves convinced by the reasonings of Radbert, or indifferent to their progress? Or did his doctrines win their expressed approbation? or, on the other hand, excite their opposition? By Raban Maur this last course was adopted with vigour and decision. He speaks of those, accordingly, who taught the corporal presence, as persons holding an erroneous opinion, an opinion, too, (and this is a most important assertion,) of recent origin. He says, likewise, that he had exerted himself, in a particular piece, to stay the progress of this erroneous novelty¹⁵. The piece to which the Archbishop refers has never been brought to light. It has, therefore, probably, perished, either from the corrosive hand of time, or from the disingenuous policy of some believer in transubstantiation. Perhaps, however, as we know the work to have been written, its loss is of no great importance. We may well rest satisfied with the notorious and indisputable facts, that *the bright star of Germany, the pious Raban, the prince of contemporary philosophers and divines*, took up the pen of controversy to convict of error a belief in the corporal presence, and to brand it as a novelty. This latter position, at least, Raban

must have been able to establish. What, then, becomes of those assurances, which have left so many blood-stained pages upon the annals of western Europe, that a belief in the corporal presence is a divine and apostolical tradition? Here is an individual, extolled by the most eminent assertors of that alleged tradition, in terms even approaching extravagance and hyperbole, who testifies expressly that it was a novelty so lately as the ninth century.

Nor was the honour of arresting the progress of this portentous novelty confined to a foreign disciple of our national school. Erigena, preeminent among European scholars, in the generation immediately succeeding that of Raban, became a professed and zealous opponent of a belief in the corporal presence. His attack, indeed, upon the hypothesis of Radbert was so direct and elaborate, that it was formally condemned, after the lapse of two centuries, by an Italian council; transubstantiation having gained, in the mean time, a secure establishment within the Roman Church¹⁶. Hence, probably, has arisen the complete disappearance of Erigena's controversial piece from repositories of literary treasures. How could those, indeed, who recommended the doctrine of transubstantiation

as a divine and apostolical tradition, endure such an exposure of its novelty and unsoundness? How very distant was the period when Erigena commanded public attention, from that in which Jesus and his personal followers were said to have initiated Christians into the mysterious doctrine so long mainly distinguishing papal Rome!

That a rejection, however, of this doctrine was deeply interwoven in the religious principles of our Anglo-Saxon ancestry, appears, among many other instances, from a prayer yet extant in their offices. It is a post-communion application to the throne of grace, and the following is its language: "Grant that we may behold, face to face, and may enjoy truly and really in heaven, Him whom here we see enigmatically, and, under another species, Him on whom we feed sacramentally¹⁷." Does not this language palpably refer to St. Paul's words, "Here we see through a glass darkly; but there face to face^b?" Is it credible, that those who prayed for the *true* and *real* enjoyment of Christ, in heaven, for the change of a sacramental or symbolical feeding upon him into a commerce with his genuine species, could have thought bread

^b 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

and wine to be converted by eucharistic consecration into an incarnation of the Saviour?

Other presumptions against the belief of ancient England in transubstantiation may probably be drawn from the very devices of Norman times to naturalize that doctrine in the land. Among these may be mentioned a legendary tale, representing Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, to have convinced of its truth some unbelieving minds by means esteemed miraculous, but, if the relation commemorate a fact, evidently collusive¹⁸. A more solemn and decisive testimony to the eucharistic belief of our distant ancestry flows from the queries, addressed in later periods, to bishops before their consecration. A former discourse brought to your notice an interpolation, in this episcopal series of interrogatories, respecting tradition. Transubstantiation furnished another cause for departing from earlier usages. It evidently became insufficient, in process of time, for those who bare rule in ecclesiastical affairs, that no man's brows should be dignified by the mitre, until he had publicly and solemnly declared his assent to those great principles of our holy faith which Christians have uniformly and universally received. Amidst queries from which the congregation had been used to de-

rive this satisfaction, we find, accordingly, in later, though ancient pontificals, the following articles introduced: "Do you believe the bread upon the Lord's table to be merely bread before consecration, but to be converted, in the very act of consecration, by God's ineffable power, into the true nature and substance of flesh, and of no other flesh than that which was conceived by the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary?" Again; "Do you believe that the wine, mingled with water, is truly and essentially converted, by consecration, into the blood which, through the soldier's lance, flowed from our blessed Saviour's side^c?" Whence the need of such disingenuous interpolations? Write they not so "that he may run that readeth it^c," that transubstantiation was no doctrine of our national Church in earlier times? Betray they not an importunate consciousness in those who subsequently strove to establish the innovation, that candidates for episcopacy might come to the altar, declaring themselves to have been taught no such tradition by their fathers?

Such a plea might, indeed, be urged with force irresistible by divines of English origin. Our islands have not only the remarkable

^c Habak. ii. 2.

(shall there be any hesitation here in adding, the *honourable*) distinction of producing that most eminent theological school, in the eighth and ninth centuries, which affords some of the strongest evidences upon record against Romish eucharistic doctrines; not only did they give birth to the famous Erigena, probably the ablest, undoubtedly the most elaborate opponent of a belief in the corporal presence during the earlier years of its appearance before the learned world; in process of time they brought also upon the stage of life that master-spirit of his age the zealous and laborious Ælfric, a writer not by any means outdone, in controverting Romish eucharistic doctrines, even by the homilists, and other theologians who have appeared in England, since the Reformation. It is, indeed, notorious, that, in assertions of a character figurative and purely spiritual for the holy Supper, Ælfric has not shewn himself at all behind the celebrated Ratramn, that eminent divine, who, like our own countryman Erigena, combated Radbert's hypothesis at the bidding of Charles the Bald²⁰. Ælfric's well-known paschal homily follows, in fact, upon many occasions, Ratramn's controversial tract so closely, that were other facilities wanting (as they by no means are) of ascer-

taining the genuineness of that most important production, our own countryman's discourse would sufficiently supply the requisite proof. Many passages in Ælfric's composition are indeed evidently mere translations from Ratramn²¹. Thus is established equally the existence of that author's tract when the Saxon homilist sat down to instruct our fathers, and the conformity of his principles with those then professed in our national Church²². Besides this irrefragable homiletic witness against transubstantiation, Ælfric has also left, upon two occasions, epistolary matter, affording evidence equally clear and decided, that our forefathers were taught no such tradition²³. But a circumstance greatly enhancing the value of these testimonies has not hitherto received its due share of attention. Both of them occur in addresses of considerable length to the clerical order; addresses which embody the leading points of doctrine and discipline established among our Anglo-Saxon ancestry. They may therefore fairly be considered as pastoral letters; and hence were undoubtedly composed with all that regard to accuracy which public functionaries necessarily use in the preparation of authentic instruments. Who, then, will doubt, that these two epistles and the paschal ho-

mily deliver a correct exposition of the doctrine which our national Church professed in Ælfric's day?

As the years rolled on, this doctrine became highly distasteful to the ruling ecclesiastics. Lanfranc, who first under Norman domination filled the see of Canterbury, had earned notoriety by controverting Berenger's opposition to the corporal presence. His influence was therefore naturally exerted to establish in England those principles for which he had laboured so strenuously upon the continent. Among the fruits of this change in the national religion was one of those disingenuous expedients which imprint a character of unsoundness upon any cause. Those who desired to undermine Ælfric's opinions, yet found themselves unable to overthrow his popularity. They ventured not, accordingly, to banish his instructions from the pulpit. On Easter-day the people were still allowed to hear that well-known paschal homily which had taught their fathers to view the holy Supper as a figurative repast upon the Saviour. But its proportions were grievously curtailed. Wherever Ælfric, in admitting fabulous narrations, had shewn himself ensnared by that credulity which necessarily clings to an age like his, the seeming

repeater of his discourse failed not of exact fidelity. Nor was this individual's accuracy less when the original made use of language in any manner favourable to the corporal presence. Passages, however, of an opposite tendency were unsparingly retrenched, and the whole homily was thus imposed upon the people in such a guise as made it utter doctrine widely different from that which its admirable author had inculcated^d. In such discreditable devices, who does not detect a consciousness of weakness? Who does not hear a tacit admission, that "from the beginning it was not so?" Had not, indeed, Ælfric's mutilators been afraid of confronting fairly his opinions with their own, would they not have adopted a very different course? Would they not have boldly branded his belief with heresy and novelty? Would they not have openly and ignominiously rejected his discourses from the house of God, as unworthy of resounding within its consecrated portals, as a disgrace to the Christian preacher's lips, a snare and a defilement to the ears of a faithful congregation? Who will not infer from the surreptitious manner in which our fathers were weaned from Ælfric's opinions, that an attack upon his character, until he

^d St. Matt. xix. 8.

was wholly forgotten, would have excited their indignation, a charge of novelty levelled against his doctrine, their contemptuous derision? This artful dealing with his famous paschal homily furnishes, therefore, another argument against those who would number transubstantiation among traditions taught by the Anglo-Saxon Church. It is an additional link in that adamant chain of testimonies, extending unbrokenly from Bede to the Norman Conquest, which proves, even to demonstration, that ancient England was taught expressly to deny the leading distinctive doctrine of modern Rome.

Obviously, then, appeals in behalf of transubstantiation, made to the Anglo-Saxon Church, must inevitably encounter the most signal, unequivocal, and triumphant discomfiture. The decisive evidence against that doctrine eventually supplied by England, arose, probably, from those approaches to it, made upon the continent, before Norman arms gave a new face to our national society. Our divines were thus called to an accurate examination of the great eucharistic question, and to a deliberate opinion upon its real merits. Happily the expression of that opinion has descended to us from the able pen of Ælfric, and in such forms, too, as vouch suffi-

ciently for its perfect agreement with principles immemorially taught among his countrymen. Had it been otherwise, he would never have been allowed to disseminate his doctrine through the land by means of a homily delivered annually to the people; by means also of epistles provided for clerical admonition and instruction. Were a homilist to arise in a Romish country, who should assert, at considerable length, and in the most express, unequivocal terms, a character for the Eucharist merely figurative and spiritual, would his discourse be suffered to fall from the lips of every preacher within the land on every Easter-Sunday? Were an ecclesiastic of superior rank plainly to embody such a doctrine in pastoral epistles, would these be deemed suitable for clerical instruction, and copies of them, accordingly, be diligently multiplied? Would the sentiments of such a man, in fine, pass current, without a single mark of reprehension, without a whisper even against their orthodoxy, just as if they were notoriously and undeniably sound and unexceptionable? On the contrary, would not such an instructor be promptly holden up to execration, as a disgraceful and deplorable example of heresy and impiety? Would not strenuous exertions hastily and anxiously be

made to withdraw public observation from his opinions, and to represent them as fraught with poison to the soul? Did the case of Ælfric stand alone, it would be amply sufficient to convict such as consider transubstantiation an article in England's ancient creed, of "understanding neither what they say, nor whereof they affirm^e."

Other Romish doctrines, offered to your notice in the progress of this enquiry, the worship of images alone excepted, had notoriously received no solemn and express authentication during the Saxon period. In the case of that one exception, we know, however, that it called from our distant ancestry the most marked and contemptuous rejection. It is true, indeed, that our Saxon fathers were eventually won over to worship the works of man's hands, wood and stone. But what folly would it be to claim for that seductive usage the tradition of their religious polity, when it is undeniable, that idolatry was branded solemnly, by their spiritual guides, at an early date, as a practice "altogether execrated by the Church of God!" Even with respect to purgatory, that feature in the papal system which was most uniformly countenanced in Ante-Norman times,

^e 1 Tim. i. 7.

is it presented to our view under the appearances of a divine or apostolical tradition? On the contrary, do any among the authorities of ancient England treat this doctrine as it has long been presented in the volumes of Romish theology? Do not, in fact, the religious teachers of our distant ancestry vacillate and hesitate at every step, when they touch upon the disembodied soul's expected posthumous purgation? Do not such doubt and uncertainty plainly stamp a character of mere speculation upon prevailing opinions as to an intermediate state of suffering? Against every other distinctive doctrine of papal Rome, examined in the course of this undertaking, the evidence is necessarily, to a great extent, indirect and inferential. The doctrines, it is undeniable, had not been controverted. *We* shall not, and we *need* not, hesitate to add, they had not attained maturity. Upon either principle we cannot hope to find them expressly and solemnly disavowed. Of testimony, however, fully equal to the exigencies of the case, and amply sufficient to satisfy any reasonable enquirer's expectations, the records of our distant ancestry are very far from sparing. Vainly, then, will a creed, incapable of scriptural proof, seek for support from the religious traditions of the Anglo-

Saxon Church. Appeals to those venerable monuments of our native land must infallibly, when urged before individuals competently masters of the question, convict Englishmen, who hold traditional articles of faith, of a grievous and palpable departure from the ancient religion of their country.

Nor will this inevitable conclusion fail to operate against dogmatic traditions generally. If there were, indeed, an unrecorded body of religious principles entrusted to the Church of Christ, how came that branch of it established among our Anglo-Saxon ancestry to shew no consciousness of this invaluable deposit? Her orthodoxy is unassailed, unsuspected even. We are indeed assured expressly, that no taint of heresy defiled the soil of England until after the lapse of a century beyond the Norman Conquest²⁵. Yet *all* the most ancient of our country's monuments, if attentively considered, oppose a confidence in any doctrines uncontained in the sacred Record. *Some* of these venerable remains loudly deny such a confidence, even to superficial observation. How reasonable is the conclusion from these indisputable facts, that no doctrines, thus destitute of intelligible authentication, were admitted *any* where to the character of divine revelations while

the Saxon dynasty retained its hereditary throne ! It is true, indeed, that some of these religious principles floated upon the surface of society among our Ante-Norman fathers. It could not be otherwise ; for they were of pagan growth ; hence implanted in every European nation by traditions immemorially current in it, and obstinately tenacious of their long-established possession. But this fact, although sufficient to connect, in several cases, traditional articles of faith with apostolic times, is, notwithstanding, useless to their advocates. In truth, it may prove too much, carrying unrecorded usages and doctrines much beyond the Christian era. The mere antiquity of any particular religious principle is thus of no great importance. Its claims to value can alone result from a clearly-marked, unbroken transmission, not only from apostolic times, but also from apostolic men. Every link in such a chain, affecting deeply, as it does, the welfare of man's immortal soul, must be found in its proper place, or the traditional deposit is manifestly unworthy of reliance. Let attention be carefully and candidly bestowed upon that alleged link in the chain of dogmatic tradition which has furnished matter for these dis-

courses, and its palpable deficiency can hardly fail of inducing a conviction, that God's good providence guarded the sacred writers from overpassing any religious principle which human beings are concerned to know.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SERMON VII.

‘ “XXXVI. *In Octab. Apostol. prid. non. Julii.*
Post Commun.

“Pignus æternæ vitæ capientes, humiliter implo-
ramus, ut apostolicis fulti patrociniis, quod imagine
contingimus sacramenti, manifesta perceptione su-
mamus. Per.” (Codices Sacramentorum, nongentis
Annis vetustiores, ed. J. M. Thomasius. Rom. 1680.
p. 160.)

This prayer, upon which Ratramn reasons (p. 110. Engl. Trans. Lond. 1686.) as inconsistent with Radbert’s hypothesis, has long lost its place in the printed Sacramentaries of Gregory the Great, and in all other offices of the Roman Church. Its publication, therefore, from an ancient MS. by Thomasius, must be considered as an important service, by inquirers into theological truth. It is remarkable that it does not appear in the offices for the day, in the very ancient MS. Sacramentary of Gregory the Great, presented by Leofric to the Church of Exeter, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library. (MSS. Bodley, 579.) The offices for this day, in that MS., present, however, another diversity from the printed formularies, which is worthy of remark, because serving, amidst many similar in-

stances, to shew the signal variations undergone by Romish liturgical forms, rendering the divinity which they taught eventually very different from that originally to be collected from them. In Thomasius's interesting volume we find the following prayer, in the page and service already cited.

“ Secreta.

“ Offerimus sacrificium, Domine, quod pro reverentia Apostolorum, Petri et Pauli, majestati tuæ jugiter et reddimus, et debemus. Per Dominum nostrum.”

In Menard's Sacramentary, (Div. Greg. P. Lib. Sacram. Paris. 1642. p. 115.) the following form is here given.

“ Super oblata.

“ Hostias, quæsumus, Domine, suscipe, placatus, oblatas, quæ meritis Apostolorum tuorum, Petri et Pauli, te sanctificante, nobis efficiantur salutares. Per.”

The edition of Gregory's Works, (Rom. 1591. tom. V. p. 130.) has this prayer in the same form, with only a verbal inaccuracy. In Leofric's MS., however, it stands thus. (f. 179.)

“ Secret.

“ Offerimus tibi, Domine, preces et munera, quæ ut tuo sint digna conspectui, Apostolorum tuorum precibus, quæsumus, adjuvemur. Per.”

² Of this fact any one may satisfy himself who will consult Menard's *Sacramentary of Gregory the Great*. No rubric directing the adoration of the Eucharist will be found in that work. No where is this omission more strikingly exemplified than in the rubric relating to the observance of Good-Friday. (p. 69.) Among the ceremonies pro-

vided for that solemnity, are the adoration of the cross, and the receiving of the Eucharist consecrated on the day before, and reserved for the express purpose of administration on that day. There is, certainly, therefore a sufficient opening here for any of those Romish usages which Protestants charge with superstition. The following, however, is that clause in the rubric which relates to the reserved eucharistic elements.

“ Presbyteri vero duo priores, mox, ut salutaverint (*crucem sc.*) intrant in sacrarium, vel ubi positum fuerit corpus Domini, quod pridie remansit, ponentes illud in patena, et subdiaconus teneat ante ipsos calicem *cum vino non consecrato*, et alter patenam cum corpore Domini. Quibus tenentibus, accipit unus presbyter patenam, et alter calicem, et deferunt super altare nudatum. Pontifex vero sedet dum persalutet populus crucem.” Who would not have expected, at least who that believes in the complete antiquity of Romanism, that these directions for carrying about the consecrated elements should have exhibited no trace of any direction for adoring them?

In the ancient Sacramentary, preserved in the Bodleian Library, (MSS. Bodley, 579.) the rubrics are fewer and shorter than in Menard’s valuable publication. The whole of that which relates to the ceremony prescribed in the extract above stands thus. (f. 110.) “ Istas orationes expletas (*sic.*) ingrediuntur diaconi in sacrario & procedunt cum corpore dñi *sine vino consecrato*, quod altera die remansit, & dic. sacer. OREM.” This passage is evidently of importance. *Cum vino non consecrato*, as Menard has the passage, is a material variation

from *sine vino consecrato*. It is plain that the latter language proceeded from no believer in transubstantiation. The former reading is, probably, not genuine. The date of this MS. seems to be 999, there being (f. 53.) a calendar containing, among other things, the days on which Easter had fallen during fifty years. The last year mentioned is 999.

³ “ Postquam typicum Pascha fuerat impletum, et agni carnes cum Apostolis comederat; assumit panem qui confortat cor hominis, et ad verum Paschæ transgreditur sacramentum, et quomodo in præfiguratione ejus Melchisedech, summi Dei sacerdos, panem et vinum offerens, fecerat, *ipse quoque veritatem sui corporis et sanguinis repræsentaret.*” (Comment. Hieron. lib. IV. in Matt. cap. xxvi. Div. Hieron. Strid. Opp. Paris. 1602. tom. VI. col. 130.) This appears to be the passage which furnished Bede with the matter contained in the first extract in note 5.

“ Quodque infert (Hieremias sc.) *Non comedent et non bibent*: subauditur corpus et sanguinem Salvatoris, cæteraque his similia: erroremque omnem, dicit, inde descendere, quod ignoraverint Deum, nec habeant rectos oculos, sed cor eorum pronum sit ad avaritiam, ut aliena diripiant, et deceptorum sanguinem fudant.” (Ejusdem Comment. in Hierem. lib. IV. cap. 22. tom. IV. col. 609.)

“ Unum autem esse altare in Ecclesia, et unam fidem, et unum baptisma Apostolus docet: quod hæretici deserentes, multa sibi altaria fabricati sunt: non ad placandum Deum, sed in delictorum multitudinem: propterea leges Dei accipere non merentur, cum eas quas acceperant ante, contempserint.

Et si quod dixerint de Scripturis ; nequaquam divinis verbis, sed ethnicorum sensibus comparandum est. Isti multas immolant hostias, et comedunt carnes earum : unam Christi hostiam deserentes ; nec comedentes ejus carnem, *cujus caro cibo credentium est.*" (Ejusd. Comment. in Osee. lib. II. cap. 8. tom. V. col. 134.) The wicked, therefore, according to St. Jerome, do not eat the Lord's body.

⁴ " Beatus quoque Augustinus de hac re sermonem fecit admodum luculentum, et aptum ædificationi atque instructioni fidelium. Quem sermonem totum epistolæ malui subjungere, quia nec est prolixus, et in ipsa brevitate magnæ instructionis ac suavitatis est plenus.

Hoc quod videtis in altare Dei, etiam transacta nocte vidistis, sed quid esset, quid sibi vellet, quam magnæ rei sacramentum contineret, nondum audistis. Quod ergo videtis, panis est et calix, quod vobis etiam oculi vestri renunciant : Quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis Christi. Breviter quidem hoc dictum est, quod fidei forte sufficiat ; sed fides instructionem desiderat. Dicit enim propheta, Nisi credideritis, non intelligetis. Potestis ergo modo dicere mihi : Præcepisti ut credamus ; expone ut intelligamus. Potest enim in animo cujuspiam cogitatio talis oboriri. Dominus noster Jesus Christus novimus unde acceperit carnem, de Virgine Maria : Infans lactatus est, nutritus est, crevit, ad juvenilem ætatem perductus est, a Judæis persecutionem passus est, ligno suspensus est, in ligno interfectus est, de ligno depositus est, sepultus est, tertia die resurrexit, quo die voluit in cæ-

lum adscendit. Illuc levavit corpus suum, unde est venturus, ut judicet vivos et mortuos. Ibi est modo sedens ad dexteram Patris. Quomodo est panis corpus ejus, et calix, vel quod habet calix, quomodo est sanguis ejus? Ista, fratres, ideo dicuntur sacramenta, quia in illis aliud videtur, aliud intelligitur. Quod videtur speciem habet corporalem; quod intelligitur, fructum habet spiritalem. Corpus ergo Christi si vis intelligere, Apostolum audi dicentem fidelibus: Vos estis corpus Christi et membra. Si ergo vos estis corpus Christi et membra, mysterium vestrum in mensa Domini positum est, mysterium Domini accipitis. Ad id quod estis Amen respondetis, et respondendo subscribitis. Audis ergo Corpus Christi, et respondes Amen. Esto membrum corporis Christi, ut verum sit Amen. Quare ergo in pane? Nihil hic de nostro adferamus, ipsum Apostolum item audiamus. Cum ergo de isto Sacramento loqueretur, ait: Unus panis, unum corpus multi sumus. Recolite enim quia panis non fit de uno grano, sed de multis. Quando exorcizabamini, quasi molebaminini; quando baptizati estis, quasi conspersi estis; quando Spiritus Sancti ignem accepistis, quasi cocti estis. Estote quod videtis, et accipite quod estis. Hoc Apostolus de pane dixit, jam de calice quid intelligeremus etiam hoc dictum satis ostendit. Sicut enim ut sit species visibilis panis multa grana in unum consperguntur; tamquam illud fiat quod de fidelibus ait Scriptura sancta: Erat illis anima et cor unum in Deum: sic et de vino, fratres, recolite unde sit unum. Grana multa pendent ad botrum, sed liquor granorum in unitate confunditur. Ita Dominus Jesus Christus

nos significavit, nos ad se pertinere voluit; mysterium pacis et unitatis nostræ in sua mensa conservavit. Qui accipit mysterium unitatis, et non servat vinculum pacis, non mysterium accipit pro se, sed testimonium contra se." (S. Fulgentii ad Ferrandum : Epistola 12. Opp. Paris. 1684. p. 227.) The whole of this important discourse, which does not appear in St. Austin's works, is copied *verbatim* by Bede, (ad Cor. i. 10. Opp. tom. VI. col. 479, 480.) The venerable expositor, therefore, distinctly taught this eucharistic tradition to our distant ancestry.

In the second extract Bede also presents exactly the received text of St. Austin. (In Johan. Evang. cap. 6. tractat. 26. edit. Benedict. tom. III. p. 2. col. 501.) This is the passage cited in our twenty-ninth Article, and although very plain against transubstantiation, yet there can be no question that what the great bishop of Hippo really wrote, rebuked that doctrine much more strongly. In the clause *proculdubio nec manducat spiritualiter carnem ejus*, &c. the word *spiritualiter* is clearly an interpolation, so likewise are the other words which have been included in parentheses. The proofs of the former fact cannot be better stated than in the words of the very learned M. Aubertin, to whose masterly work upon the Eucharist the author has been much indebted. "Addo secundo vocem *spiritualiter* ex qua Cardinalis subterfugium captavit, verisimilime, ne dicam certissime intrusam fuisse in eum codicem, secundum quem prima Augustini editio facta est, ac deinde in post editis incuria quadam, si non etiam forte ex industria, ad argumentum nostrum quadam tenus infirmandum, stu-

diose conservatam. Nam quamvis Beda et Alcuinus, ejus discipulus commentariis suis in Joannem partim ex Augustino concinnatis, illam interponant his Augustini verbis utentes, in Prospero tamen non habetur, nec in ipsius Bedæ commentariis in Paulum ex Augustini verbis prorsus confectis, nec in Fulberto, nec in Thoma, nec in Valdensi, nec in Biele, locum hunc ex Augustino se proferre testantibus. Ad exemplaria autem manuscripta quod attinet, culpanda sane est nec est ullo modo excusanda Perronii aut incuria aut audacia adeo temere et inverecunde pronunciantis *omnia* vocem illam habere. An enim vidit *omnia*? Dubito, num vel unicum viderit qui eam haberet: neque enim omisisset illum nominare ac indicare, prout in ejusmodi solet. Estius quoque locum hunc citans cum hac voce *spiritualiter*, post illam, per parenthesin diminute ait, *ut addunt quædam exemplaria*. Sed quædam illa sint, non magis notat quam Perronius, nec, ut puto, magis vere. Nam Theologi Lovanienses qui Augustini opera ab aliis edita, ad plurimos codices MSS. recensuerunt, ingenue fatentur *in MSS. non esse spiritualiter*, licet illud reliquerint in editione sua. Codices quoque varii quos hic Perronio videre licuit, quosque ego propriis oculis vidi, (plures autem vidi,) variarum Bibliothecarum, Sangermanæ, San Victorianæ, Thuanæ, vocabulo illo carent." (Albertinus de Euch. Sacr. Davent. 1654. p. 720.) Bede in another place (ad Cor. i. 10. Opp. VI. 482.) thus gives the passage: "Qui manducat meam carnem, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet et ego in illo. Hoc est ergo manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere.

Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat ejus carnem, nec bibit sanguinem, etiam si tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducet et bibat."

This doctrine, so completely Protestant, is undoubtedly St. Austin's. The Benedictine editors, accordingly, found themselves constrained to place within parenthetical marks, the words which have been so distinguished in the second extract from Bede, (note 5,) and to place at the bottom of the page the following apology for inserting these words at all. "Sic editi quidem, at MSS. nostri omnes habent hoc modo, *Nec manducat carnem ejus, nec bibit ejus sanguinem, etiamsi tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducet et bibat. Sicut inquit misit me vivus Pater, &c.* carentque verbis ceteris, quæ hic ansulis concluduntur: quæ verba nullo etiam e suis MSS. contineri testantur Lovanienses: habentur ipsa in Bedæ et Alcuini commentariis super Johannem." Alcuin most probably copied the passage, as it stood in Bede, without any farther enquiry. Bede here might have used, possibly, some interpolated copy, and considered the additions serviceable for the better understanding of the text. Or it may even be, that these additions are his own, and were intended as a sort of interpretative amplification of his author. It should be observed, that he is not in the habit of citing the quarters whence he derives his matter. An incautious reader might therefore take his incessant transcriptions from St. Austin for language of his own. Obviously, however, by this course, he renders himself responsible for all the contents of his voluminous works, and he thought himself, pro-

bably, at full liberty to make such additions to the passages adopted, as appeared likely to render them more effective and intelligible. How such a representation of St. Austin's language having received currency from the authorities of Bede and Alcuin, came to be regularly produced in the works of that Father, we are at no loss to conceive. The bishop of Hippo, even in his interpolated form, is a very strong evidence against transubstantiation. As Bede exhibits him uninterpolated, he utterly overthrows that principal article of the Romish creed.

That these words included within a parenthesis are indeed an interpolation, appears also from two ancient MSS. in the Bodleian library. (Laud. 144. and Laud. 139.) In the former of these the passage thus appears: "Hoc ē g^o manducare illā esca & illū potū bibere, ī xpō manere, & illū manentē ī se hrē: ac per hoc qⁱ n̄ manet ī xpō & ī q^o n̄ manet xpē, proculdubio nec manducat carnē eius, nec bibit sanguinē eius, etiam si tante rei sacramentum ad iudiciū sⁱ manducet & bibat." In the latter every word is the same.

The third citation from Bede is contained in St. Austin's next *Tractate*: viz. xxvii. col. 502. It is extracted *verbatim*.

The fourth citation from Bede is taken from the following passage in St. Austin upon the Psalms. "Sed et ibi qui diligenter legunt, vident in illo bello David pacatum fuisse filio, qui etiam magno cum dolore planxit extinctum, dicens, Abessalon, filius meus, quis dabit mihi mori pro te? Et in historia Novi Testamenti ipsa Domini nostri tanta et tam miranda patientia, quod eum tamdiu pertulit tanquam bonum, cum ejus cogitationes non igno-

raret, cum adhibuit ad *convivium*, in quo corporis et sanguinis sui figuram discipulis commendavit et tradidit; quod denique in ipsa traditione osculum accepit, bene intelligitur, pacem Christum exhibuisse traditori suo, quamvis ille tam sceleratæ cogitationis interno bello vastaretur.” (S. August. Episc. Enarratio in Psalmum iii. Opp. tom. IV. col. 7.)

The variations from his author's words in which the venerable expositor has here indulged himself, will serve, probably, to explain his conduct in offering to the world the second extract as we find it. He meant, we may reasonably suppose, neither to interpolate, nor to adopt an interpolation; only to present St. Austin's doctrine in a manner which he thought more clear and effective than that in which the renowned prelate of Hippo left it. But whatever were Bede's object in giving us this version of St. Austin, he has thereby afforded considerable satisfaction to the Romanists. By means of the word *spiritualiter* he allows them some chance of escape from his obvious meaning. This term may be and has been contrasted with *sacramentaliter*; and thus a subtle disputant is enabled to involve the passage in a degree of mystery, and to overlay it with a degree of refinement, which at least will afford a plausible reason for remaining unconvinced to those who are anxious to see nothing unfavourable to transubstantiation. St. Austin's genuine text, however, destroys every hope of the kind. If none eat the flesh of Christ and drink his blood, but those who dwell in Christ, and in whom Christ dwells; then the doctrine of transubstantiation is at an end, and the author who overthrows it by

affirming this proposition, in language so plain and positive as to cut off every prospect of evasion, could have been no Romanist.

“ Finitis Paschæ veteris solemnibus quæ in commemoratione antiquæ de Ægypto liberationis populi Dei agebatur: transiit ad novum quod in suæ redemptionis memoriam Ecclesiam frequentare volebat, ut videlicet pro carne agni ac sanguine, sui corporis et sanguinis sacramentum substitueret. *Benedit* panem *et fregit*, quia hominem adsumptum ita morti subdere dignatus est, ut ei divinæ immortalitatis veraciter inesse potentiam demonstraret, ideoque velocius eum a morte resuscitandum doceret. *Et accipiens calicem, gratias egit, et dedit illis, dicens, Bibite ex hoc omnes.* Gratias egit ut ostendat, quod unusquisque in flagello culpæ propriæ facere debeat, si ipse æquanimiter flagella culpæ portat alienæ, et quod in correptione facit subditus, gratias Patri agit æqualis. *Hic enim est sanguis meus Novi Testamenti, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum.* Quia ergo panis carnem confirmat, vinum vero sanguinem operatur in carne: hic ad corpus Christi mystice illud refertur ad sanguinem verum, quia et nos in Christo, et in nobis Christum manere oportet.” (Ven. Bed. in Matt. 26. Opp. Col. Agr. 1612. tom. V. p. 77.) The same language is also used by the venerable expositor, in treating upon the parallel passages in St. Mark. (p. 145.)

“ *Et qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit meum sanguinem, in me manet, et ego in eo.* Hoc est, ergo, manducare illam escam, et illum bibere potum, in Christo manere, et illum manentem in se habere. Ac per hoc qui non manet in Christo, et

in quo non manet Christus, proculdubio nec manducat (spiritualiter) ejus carnem, (licet carnaliter et visibiliter premat dentibus sacramentum corporis et sanguinis Christi :) sed magis tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium sibi manducat et bibit, quia immundus præsumitur ad Christi accedere sacramenta, quæ alius non digne sumit, nisi qui mundus est : de quibus dicitur, *Beati mundi corde, quoniam Deum videbunt.*" (Ibid. in Joh. vi. p. 509.)

"Hoc ergo nos docuit, et admonuit mysticis verbis, ut simus in ejus corpore, sub ipso capite in membris ejus, non relinquentes unitatem ejus." (Ibid. p. 510.)

"Invenietur quoque spiritalis David immensam in Judam habuisse pacem traditorem, cum et ejus nefanda consilia cognoscens, ejus præsentiam pertulit, nec a *sacratissima cæna, in qua figuram sacrosancti corporis sanguinisque sui* discipulis tradidit, ipsumque exclusit, atque pacis osculum illi tradenti se non negavit, cum tamen celeritate cogitationis interno bello nequam ille vastaretur." (Bedæ Presb. Commentarius in Psalmum III. Opp. tom. VIII. col. 438. Bas. 1563.) The venerable commentator treats upon this Psalm by drawing a mystical parallel between our Saviour and David, and between Absalom and Judas Iscariot.

⁶ This explanation of the term *sacrament* will be found below, in the citation from Haymo of Halberstadt. (note 10.) It may be confirmed by the following passage from the ritualist, Amalarius, which, by stating that benediction converts oil into a *sacrament*, shews plainly enough the signification affixed to that term in the ninth century. "Quando a populis offertur, simplex liquor est ; per bene-

dictionem transfertur in sacramentum.” (Amalarii Fortunati Ep. Trev. de Eccles. Off. lib. I. cap. 12. Bibl. PP. Col. 1618. tom. IX. p. 311.) The same words nearly occur in the extract from a Cottonian MS. printed in p. 111. note 30. upon Sermon II.

As usual, the authors here follow St. Austin. In that Father’s work *De Civitate Dei*, (lib. X. cap. 5. ed. Bened. tom. VII. col. 241.) we find, accordingly, “*Sacrificium ergo visibile invisibilis sacrificii sacramentum, id est, sacrum signum est.*” In his piece *Contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum* (lib. II. cap. 9. tom. VIII. col. 599.) are these words: “*Itane vero ubi essent cognoscenda tantæ rei sacramenta, id est, sacra signa.*” Again, we read to the same effect, and more fully, though not expressly, in his epistle to Boniface. (Epist. 98. vulgo xxiii. tom. II. col. 267.) “*Nonne semel immolatus est Christus in seipso? Et tamen in sacramento non solum per omnes Paschæ solemnitates, sed omni die populis immolatur: nec utique mentitur, qui interrogatus, cum responderit immolari. Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt. Sicut ergo secundum quemdam modum, sacramentum corporis Christi corpus Christi est, sacramentum sanguinis Christi sanguis Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est.*” In this important passage we thus find eucharistic bread and wine not conjointly designated as *a sacrament*, but separately, as *two sacraments*, that is, as *two sacred signs*. We see also the reason why the Fathers termed these consecrated substances Christ’s body

and blood. They had no intention, we are told plainly enough, of applying such terms to them, in strict propriety of speech. They only used this language *after a certain manner*. This is a strange account from a divine of eminent abilities, if he really believed that eucharistic consecration removed earthly elements from the Lord's table, and substituted for them an incarnation of the Saviour subsisting invisibly, but substantially, and therefore sensibly, under the accidents of bread and wine.

7 “*Pauperes enim semper habetis vobiscum, me autem non semper habetis.* Et hic magnæ modamine patientiæ Dominus, non Judam arguit avaritiæ: et non pauperum de pecunia loqui, sed ex ratione demonstrat, non esse culpandos eos, qui inter homines conversati de facultatibus suis ministrarent, cum tam parvo tempore ipse apud Ecclesiam corporaliter mansurus. Pauperes, autem, quibus eleemosyna fieri posset, in ea semper essent habendi.” (Alcuin. Comment. in S. Joan. Evang. lib. V. cap. 28. col. 572.) “*Et si abiero et præparavero vobis locum, iterum veniam ad vos.* Si abiero per carnis absentiam, veniam per divinitatis præsentiam, in qua vobiscum ero usque ad finem.” (Ibid. lib. VI. cap. 34. col. 599.) Alcuin also (lib. III. cap. 15. col. 490.) copies Bede in the second extract, found in note 5.

Ʒpæt pær Ʒe melchiredech Ʒe þe pær ægðer Ʒe cýning· Ʒe Ʒoder Ʒacepð· Ʒ eac Ʒe aporƷol paulur cƷeð be him þ̅ he Ʒepe butan Ʒæðer Ʒe moder.—ðe melchiredech pær cýning Ʒ Ʒoder Ʒacepð· Ʒpa þæt he ofƷrode þam ælmihtigan Ʒode hlaƷ Ʒ Ʒin· Ʒorðan þe he Ʒetacnode urne hælend cƷurc· Ʒe þe iƷ ealpa cýninga cýning· Ʒ ealpa Ʒacepða Ʒacepð· Ʒ

he gehalgode hweƿel of hlafe ⁊ of wine ⁊ hine
 gylfne for ur georffrode. Nær melchisedech butan
 fæder ⁊ modor acenned. ac he leofode swa lange
 þ̅ nan man h̅yr c̅ynn n̅yrte. ⁊ forði he getacnode
 criſt ge þe iſ acenned on heofonum butan mæder.
 ⁊ on eorðan butan fæder. be þam iſ arwiten. Tu
 eſ racerdoſ in eternum ſecundum ordinem mel-
 chiredech. þ̅ iſ on engliſc. Ðu eart racerð on
 ecenerre æfter melchiredech endebýrðnerre.
 (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii. 23. Ex Interogg. Sigewulf.
 Presbyt. ad Alcuinum.) *What was Melchisedech,
 who was both king and God's priest; and also the
 apostle Paulus saith of him, that he was without
 father and mother?—Melchisedech was king and
 God's priest; so that he offered to almighty God
 loaf and wine, because he betokened our Saviour,
 Crist, who is of all kings king, and of all priests,
 priest: and he hallowed the Eucharist of loaf and
 wine, and himself for us offered. Melchisedech
 was not without father and mother born; but he
 lived so long, that no man knew his kin: and there-
 fore he betokened Crist, who is born in the heavens
 without a mother, and on earth without a father:
 of whom it is written, Tu es sacerdos in eternum se-
 cundum ordinem Melchisedech: that is, in Eng-
 lish, Thou art a priest after Melchisedech's order.*
 This explanation is taken from Bede. In Genes.
 Expositio, cap. 14. Opp. tom. IV. col. 44.

^s “Cœnando cum discipulis panem fregit, et ca-
 licem pariter dedit eis in Figuram Corporis et
 Sanguinis sui, nobisque profuturum magnum exhi-
 buit sacramentum.” (D. Caroli Gloriosissimi Regis
 Francorum, de Ratione Septuagesimæ, &c. ad Albi-
 num Abbatem Epistola. B. Flacci Albini, sive Alch-

wini Opp. col. 1150.) In the 27th chapter of the 2nd book of the *Caroline Books*, the term *sacramentum* is used repeatedly and plainly to designate a *figure* or *sacred sign*. “Corporis et sanguinis Dominici *sacramentum* ad commemorationem suæ passionis, et nostræ salutis nobis concessum.—Corporis et sanguinis Dominici *sacramentum non omni sacramento æquipерandum, sed* pene omnibus præferendum.” Imperialia Decreta de Cult. Imag. ex edit. Melch. Haim. Goldast. Francof. 1608. pp. 274, 277.) This publication of Goldastus contains the decrees of the synod of Paris against image-worship, and other authentic declarations to the same effect.

° “*Fulgens illud Germaniæ sidus*, Rabanus Maurus, Albinus Flacci auditor.” (Baronii Annal. Eccl. ad ann. 843. Antv. 1603. tom. X. p. 9.)

“Archiepiscopus Rabanus *vir doctrina valde insignis, probitate atque scientia nulli secundus*.” (Id. ad ann. 847. Ibid. p. 56.)

“Rabanus Maurus, natione Germanus, Abbas Fuldensis fuit tempore Ludovici Pii Imp. Episcopus Moguntinus creatus est tempore Lotharii ejus filii. Obiit anno Dom. 856. tempore Ludovici Junioris Imp. *vir fuit æque doctus ac pius*.” (De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis: Roberto, Cardinale Bellarmino, e Soc. Jes. Auctore. Col. Agr. 1622. p. 200.)

“Rabanus Magnentius Maurus, sextus Archiepiscopus Moguntinus, natione Germanus, ex urbe Fuldensi in Buconia, quartus abbas quondam cœnobii Fuldensis, ordinis D. Benedicti, Albinus Anglici auditor, *vir omnium disciplinarum cognitione absolutissimus, rhetor, poëta, astronomus, philosophus, et theologus, cui nullum parem eo sæculo Ger-*

mania habuit." Bibliotheca Sancta a F. Sixto Senensi. Colon. 1576. p. 318.

¹⁰ "This hath been in the Church of Rome *the great burning article*: and as absurd and unreasonable as it is, more Christians have been murdered for the denial of it, than, perhaps, for all the other articles of their religion." Archbishop Tillotson's *Discourse against Transubstantiation*. Works, Lond. 1720. vol. I. p. 277.

¹¹ "Aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti: sacramentum enim ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur. Sacramentum enim in alimentum corporis redigitur, virtute autem sacramenti æternæ vitæ dignitas adipiscitur. In sacramento fideles quique communicantes pactum societatis et pacis ineunt. In virtute enim sacramenti omnia membra capiti suo conjuncta et coadunata in æterna claritate gaudebunt. Sicut ergo in nos id convertitur cum id manducamus et bibimus, sic et nos in corpus Christi convertimur, dum obedientes et pie vivimus." (Raban. Maur. Mogunt. Archiep. de Instit. Cler. lib. I. c. 31. Colon. 1532. p. 51.) "*Sumunt ergo fideles bene et veraciter corpus Christi*, si corpus Christi non negligent esse. Fiant corpus Christi si volunt vivere de Spiritu Christi." (Ibid. 52.) "Ergo quia panis corporis cor firmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur. Vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne ad sanguinem Christi refertur. Hæc autem dum sunt visibilia sanctificata, tamen per Spiritum Sanctum in sacramentum divini corporis transeunt." Ibid. 53.

Upon the last supper, Raban copies Bede.

"*Quotiescunque enim manducabitis panem hunc,*

et calicem bibetis, mortem Domini annuntiabitis donec veniat. Quia enim morte Domini liberati sumus, hujus rei memores in edendo et potando carne et sanguine, quæ pro nobis oblatae sunt, significamus; novum testamentum in his consecuti, quod est novo lex, quæ obedientem sibi tradit cœlestibus regnis. Nam et Moyses, accepto sanguine vituli in patera aspersit filios Israel, dicens, *Hoc testamentum est, quod disposuit Deus ad vos.* Hoc figura fuit testamenti quod Dominus novum appellavit per Prophetam, ut illud vetus sit quod Moyses tradidit. Testamentum ergo sanguine constitutum est, quia beneficii divini sanguinis testis est. In cujus typum, nos calicem mysticum ad tuitionem corporis, et sanguinis, et animæ nostræ percipimus; quia sanguis Domini sanguinem nostrum redemit, id est, totum hominem salvum fecit; caro enim Salvatoris pro salute corporis, sanguis vero pro animæ nostræ effusus est." Hraban. Maur. Comment. in Epist. Paul. lib. II. cap. 11. Opp. Col. Agrip. 1627. tom. V. p. 324.

¹² This curious attack is to be found in a splendid folio MS. volume of liturgical tracts, (W. W. IV. 2.) to be found in the magnificent library of All Souls college, Oxford, to which it was presented by king Henry VI. This fact is thus commemorated in the first page: *Liber Collegii Animarum Omnium Fidelium: Oxonie: ex Dono Regis Henrici VI.^{ti} Oretis pro Inclito Statu eiusdem.* The particular piece is an *Abreviation of Amalarius*, by William of Malmesbury, who addresses his work to his friend Rodbertus, at whose request, he says, he was induced to give himself a respite from historical studies, and to employ himself as a liturgical epi-

tomizer. In speaking of authors who dispense ritual information, he thus introduces, in this prefatory address, the famous archbishop of Mentz. “*Interea te ammonitum volo, ut unum ex his qui de talibus disputaverunt fugiendum scias, Rabanum nomino, qui in libro de Officiis Ecclesiasticis dicit, Sacramenta Altaris proficere ad saginam corporis, ac per hoc corruptioni, et morbo, et etate, et secessu, et postremo morte obnoxia. Que de Domini corpore, dicere, credere, scribere, quanti sit periculi vides. Preterea libri eius per se parum conferunt scientie, minimum accomodant doctrine: de aliorum quippe laboribus, aut ad litteram, aut ad sententiam omnino usurpati.*” (f. 123.) Malmesbury then proceeds to specify particular portions of Raban’s works, taken from others. This treatment, however, is somewhat unreasonable, for although it is true, that the archbishop’s numerous pieces are commonly little else than transcripts from elder authors, especially from St. Austin, yet he does not offend in that way more than Bede, against whom we never hear a breath of censure from any quarter. The fact, indeed, is, that the literary monuments of Bede and Raban’s age, although occupying a considerable space on the shelves of a library, contain a very moderate portion of new matter. Transcripts from St. Jerome and St. Austin, particularly the latter, contribute very largely to their bulk. The writers, probably, did not aim at literary reputation when they sat down to the production of these works, but only to the selection of such materials as they thought might prove extensively serviceable.

¹³ “*Licet enim a multis partibus deferatur ille*

panis, et a multis sacerdotibus per universum orbem consecratur, divinitas tum quæ replet omnia, replet et illud, facit quod ut sit unum Christi corpus, omnesque qui digne percipiunt illud, unum Christi corpus faciunt, non duo, quia ipse dixit, *Qui manducat carnem meam, et bibit sanguinem meum, in me manet, et ego in eo.*" Haymonis Ep. Halberstatensis in Div. Paul. Epp. Interpret. ad Cor. cap. vi. 1533. f. 128.)

Haymo uses the very words of Bede, *Finitis*, &c. (note 5.) He then proceeds thus: "*Accipite et manducate. Hoc est corpus meum, quod pro vobis tradetur.* Sicut caro Christi quam assumpsit in utero virginali, verum ejus corpus est, et pro nostra salute occisum, ita panis quem Christus tradidit discipulis suis et omnibus prædestinatis ad vitam æternam, et quem quotidie consecrant sacerdotes in Ecclesia cum virtute divinitatis, quæ illum replet panem, verum corpus Christi est; nec sunt duo corpora, illa caro quam assumpsit, et iste panis, sed unum verum corpus faciunt Christi, in tantum ut dum ille frangitur et comeditur, Christus immoletur et commedatur, et tamen integer maneat et vivat." (Ibid. f. 129.)

"Corpus ergo Christi et sanguis, *Sacramentum* dicuntur, *id est, sacrum signum*, non sui ipsius, ut præmissum est et probatum, sed ad similitudinem sumentium revera signa dicuntur? sicut enim panis, qui sacratus fit corpus Christi, ex multis granis fit unus panis, et potus ille qui sanctificatus efficitur sanguis Christi, ex multis acinis fit unus potus; sic omnes digne sumentes hoc sacramentum, ex multis, unum in Christo efficiuntur. Possunt et aliter corpus Christi et sanguis signa nominari, quod mandu-

camus et in corpus Christi nostrum trajicimus, quodam modo nobis incorporari videtur et uniri. Significat ergo hoc corporalis et temporalis carnis Christi et sanguinis comestio et incorporatio illam æternæ societatis et refectionis visionem spiritalem et sempiternam, qua ei incorporabimur et uniemur in futuro, sic sine fine cum eo permansuri, ad quod nos perducì posse integra fide, alacri spe, flagranti caritate præsumendum est." Tractatus Aimonis, *al.* Haimonis, de Cor. et Sang. Dom. in Spicilegio Domini Lucæ Acherii. Paris. 1675. tom. XII. p. 29.

¹⁴ " Christianus Druthmarus fuit Bedæ discipulus, et floruit circa annos Domini 800." (Hospinian. Hist. Sacram. Tigur. 1598. p. 258.)

" *Deditque discipulis suis, et ait, Accipite et comedite, hoc est corpus meum.* Dedit discipulis suis sacramentum corporis sui in remissionem peccatorum, et conservationem charitatis, ut memores illius facti, semper hoc *in figura* facerent, quod pro eis acturus erat non oblivisceretur. *Hoc est corpus meum*, id est, in sacramento. *Et accipiens calicem, gratias egit, et dedit illis, dicens.* Quia inter omnes vitæ alimonias cibus panis et vinum valent ad confirmandam et recreandam nostram infirmitatem, recte per hæc duo ministerium sui sacramenti confirmare placuit. Vinum namque et lætificat, et sanguinem auget. Et idcirco non inconvenienter *sanguis Christi per hoc figuratur*: quoniam quicquid nobis ab ipso venit lætificat lætitia vera, et auget omne bonum nostrum. Sicut denique si aliquis peregre proficiscens dilectoribus suis quoddam vinculum dilectionis relinquit, eo tenore ut omni die hæc agant, ut illius non obliviscantur: ita Deus præcepit agi a nobis, transferens spiritualiter corpus

in panem, vinum in sanguinem, ut per hæc duo memoremus quæ fecit pro nobis de corpore et sanguine suo, et non simus ingrati tam amantissimæ charitati." (Christiani Druthmari Grammatici Expositio in Matt. Evang. Magna Biblioth. PP. Vet. Col. Agr. 1618. tom. IX. p. 934.) The last sentence in this extract is to be found in Sedulius, upon 1 Cor. 11. (Sedulii Scoti Hybernensis in Epistolas Pauli Collectaneum, Basil. 1528. f. 57.) The age of Sedulius is somewhat uncertain, but Cave is disposed to place him about the year 818. See Hist. Lit. Lond. 1688. p. 518.

¹⁵ "Nam quidam *nuper*, de ipso sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini *non rite sentientes*, dixerunt: Hoc ipsum corpus et sanguinem Domini, quod de Maria Virgine natum est, et in quo Dominus passus est in cruce, et resurrexit de sepulchro ———— (*Lacuna hic est in MS. exemplari.*) *cui errori*, quantum potuimus, ad Egilonem abbatem scribentes, de corpore ipso quod vere credendum sit, aperuimus." Pœnitentiale Rhabani Archiep. Mogunt. ex MS. cod. Weingart. ex edit. P. Steuart. Leodii: in tom. *Insignium Auctorum tam Græcorum, quam Latinorum*. Ingolstad. 1616.

¹⁶ John Scot, or Erigena, has been represented by some as a native of England, by others, as a native of Scotland, by others, again, as a native of Ireland. His distinctive appellation renders it hardly doubtful that the last representation is the true one. He had lived for some time, with great distinction, at the court of Charles the Bald, and it was that prince's desire which led him to write upon the eucharistic question. His work was condemned by the synod of Vercelli, under Leo IX. in 1050. dur-

ing the heats excited by Berenger's attacks upon the doctrine of the corporal presence. Some Romish writers, naturally anxious to extenuate the opposition encountered anciently by assertors of that doctrine, have contended that Erigena's piece upon the Eucharist is, in fact, that which we have under the name of Ratramn, or Bertram. This opinion, however, has been satisfactorily disproved, and is, accordingly, now universally abandoned. Erigena flourished in the middle and latter half of the ninth century. Cave, *Hist. Lit.* 548. Du Pin, *Eccl. Hist.* IX. 73, 77. Eng. transl. L'Arroque's *Hist. of the Euch.* Engl. transl. Lond. 1684. p. 403. Labb. et Coss. IX. 1056.

¹⁷ “Concede, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus, ut quem ænigmatice et sub aliena specie cernimus, quo sacramentaliter cibamur in terris; facie ad faciem eum videamus: eo sicuti est veraciter et realiter frui mereamur in cœlis: per eundem. Amen.” (*Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Laud. 201. fol. ult.*) The volume, which is a collection of transcripts from Cambridge MSS. made by L'Isle, evidently with a view to publication, appears to have come into the possession of archbishop Laud in 1638. The prayer extracted above is one of a short collection to which the following title is prefixed: “Certaine Prayers of the Saxon times, taken out of the Nunnes Rules of St. James's Order, in Bennet Coll. Library.” This particular prayer is printed by Wanley, in the second volume of Hickes's *Thesaurus*, p. 101.

¹⁸ “Hoc ferme tempore quidam clerici, maligno errore seducti, asseverare conabantur, panem et vinum, quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, in priori substantia permanere, et figuram tantum-

modo esse corporis et sanguinis Christi, non verum Christi corpus et sanguinem. Quorum enormem perfidiam, beatus Odo destruere cupiens, dum quadam die, in conspectu totius populi, sacrosanctis missarum solemniis devotus, intenderet; expressis lachrymis, Dei omnipotentis clementiam in suo ministerio affore postulavit; quæ, ad depellendos hominum errores, substantiam divinorum mysteriorum declararet proprietatem. Cumque ad confractionem vivifici panis ventum fuisset: (O ineffabilem Dei miserationem, et præsentiam æternæ majestatis ostentationem!) confestim namque inter manus beati pontificis fragmenta corporis Christi tenentis sanguis guttatim defluere cœpit. Stans, itaque, pontifex, et præ gaudio uberes lachrymas fundens, innuit astantibus ministris, ut illi potissimum proprius accedant qui nuper in fidem titubaverant. Vocati igitur celeriter assunt, atque in tantarum rerum consideratione perterrefacti, pœnitenti voce exclamant: O te inter homines foelicissimum hodie; cui Filius Dei semetipsum in carne dignatus est revelare! Et rursum; Exora, inquiunt, præsulum pater, exora Domini majestatem; ut in pristinam formam præsens sanguis commutetur; ne nos, propter infidelitatis errorem, ultio divina sequatur. Oravit ergo sacerdos. Post orationem, ad aram respexit; et ubi dimiserat sanguinem, consuetam vini reperit speciem." (Osbern. de Vit. S. Od. Archiep. Cantuar. Ang. Sacr. Lond. 1691. II. 82.)

As this relation rests upon the authority of a writer who lived at the distance of two centuries from Odo's time, it may be reasonably treated as a mere figment altogether. If the circumstance, however, truly occurred, nothing, obviously, would have

been easier than to have contrived the pretended miracle beforehand. But the consistency of Anglo-Saxon testimony against transubstantiation renders it most likely that Odo's memory is not justly chargeable with the clumsy and impious piece of legerdemain imputed to him.

¹⁹ “*Inter.* Credis sanctam catholicam atque apostolicam unam esse veram Ecclesiam, in qua unum datur Baptisma, atque vera omnium remissio peccatorum? *Resp.* Credo. *Inter.* Credis panem quod in mensa Dominica ponitur panem tantummodo esse ante consecrationem, sed in ipsa consecratione, ineffabili potentia Divinitatis, converti naturam atque substantiam panis, in naturam atque substantiam carnis; carnis, vero, nullius alterius sed illius que concepta est de Spiritu Sancto, atque nata ex Maria Virgine? *Resp.* Credo. *Inter.* Similiter vinum, quod, aqua mixtum, in sanctificandum proponitur, vere atque essentialiter converti in sanguinem, qui, per lanceam militis, de vulnere Domini lateris emanavit? *Resp.* Credo.” (Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. Ee. II. 3. “Codex membranaceus ante quinquenos annos scriptus. Pontificale.” *Nasmith. Catal.*) These questions are also found in the Parker MS. (Bibl. C. C. C. C. LXXIX. Pontificale post Hug. de S. Vict. script. f. 44.) in the examination of bishops, at the time of consecration. In an earlier Pontifical, (XLIV.) preserved among the treasures of archbishop Parker's inestimable collection, (p. 7.) there is no trace of this interpolation, in the examination of bishops.

²⁰ Ratramn has commonly passed under the name of Bertram. M. Claude has probably stated in the following passage the true reason of this confu-

sion. “’Twas the custom to give the name *Beatus* to illustrious men in the Church, instead of *Sanctus*, which has been since affectedly given ’em; of which there are thousands of instances in manuscripts and printed books. ’Tis then very likely that some transcribers, finding, in the manuscripts, the title of this book, *B. Ratrami*, or *Be. Ratrami*, which signifies *Beati Ratramni*, they have imprudently joyn’d all these letters, and made thereof but one name.” The Cath. Doctr. of the Euch. by M. Claude, Engl. transl. Lond. 1684. p. 286.

²¹ The following passage is palpably, from the words *ateopiað*, *shew*, and *clýpiað*, *call*, most especially, shewn to be the original property of Ratramn: Soðlice je hlaƿ and þ̅ ƿin þe beoð þurh ƿacerða mæƿran gehalgode. oðer þing hi ateopiað menniscum andgítum ƿiðutan. 7 oðer þing hi clýpiað ƿiðinnan geleaffullum modum. *Truly the bread and wine which by the masse of the priest is hallowed, shew one thing without to humane understanding, and another thing they call within to believing minds.* (A Sermon on Easter Day. L’Isle’s Transl. p. 5.) “At ille panis qui per sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus *ostendit*, aliud interius fidelium mentibus *clamat*.” (Liber Ratramni de Cor. et Sang. Dom. Lond. 1686. p. 14.) It will be observed here, that Ælfric, although manifestly borrowing from Ratramn, uses language more decidedly at variance with transubstantiation than his original. Among the preliminary matter to the edition of Ratramn, used above, (p. xl. et seqq.) may be seen more instances of parallelism between that celebrated foreigner and our own equally powerful witness

against the antiquity of a belief in the corporal presence. Of this latter, indeed, Johnson well observes, "I am fully persuaded that the Homilies of Elfric are more positive against the doctrine of transubstantiation than the Homilies of the Church of England, compiled in the reigns of Edward the Sixth and queen Elizabeth." *Collection of Eccl. Laws*, pref. p. xx.

"Strype (Life of Archbishop Parker, Oxf. 1821. I. 472.) considers that the archbishop published Ælfric's famous testimonies against transubstantiation, in 1566. The book was printed by John Day, in octavo. Its correspondence with the original was attested by the signatures of the learned primate himself, of the archbishop of York, and of thirteen bishops. Foxe again published these interesting and most important remains of our ecclesiastical antiquities, in his *Acts and Monuments*, (Vol. II. Lond. 1610. pp. 1041, 1042.) L'Isle also rendered the same service to the cause of truth, in 1623, as did Whelock in his *Bede*, in 1643, (pp. 332, 333, 462.) and likewise, according to Strype, did Leon Litchfield, at Oxford, in 1675.

Of the famous paschal homily there are two copies among the MSS. in the public library at Cambridge, one in Ii. 4—6. and another in Gg. 3—28. Another copy is also in the library of Corpus Christi College in that University.

For a general account of this homily, see Hist. Ref. III. 162. Perhaps the most remarkable passage in it is the following: *Wicel is betpux ðære ungerепенlican mihte ðær halzan hufles. 7 þam zereпенlican hipe agener gecynder. Hit is on gecynde bpoꝛmenðlic hlaƿ. 7 bpoꝛmenðlic pin. 7 is*

æfter mihte godcunder wordes soðlice Līfster lichama ⁊ his bloð. na swa þeah lichamlice. ac gartlice. Micel is betwux þam lichaman þe Līfster on þrowode. ⁊ þam lichaman ðe to hure bið gehalgod. Se lichama soðlice þe Līfster on þrowode þær geboren of Marian flæsce mid blode ⁊ mid banum. mid selle ⁊ mid rinum. on menniscum limum. mid gerceadwyrre sawle gelīfæst. ⁊ his gartlica lichama ðe se hurel hatað is of manegum cornum gegaderod. buton blode. ⁊ bane. limleas. ⁊ sawulleas. and nis forþi nan ðing ðær on to understandenne lichamlice. ac is eall gartlice to understandenne. (L'Isle's Serm. on Easter Day, 6. Wheloc. in Bed. 471. Foxe II. 1043. Bibl. Publ. Cant. MSS. li. 4—6. p. 307. Gg. 3—28. p. 357.) *Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of his proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread, and corruptible wine; and is, by might of God's word, truly Crist's body and his blood; not so, notwithstanding, bodily, but ghostly. Much is betwixt the body Crist suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel. The body, truly, that Crist suffered in was borne of the flesh of Marie, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinewes, in humane limbs, with a reasonable soul living; and his ghostly body, which we call the housel, is gathered of many cornes, without blood and bone, without limb, without soule; and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood.* L'Isle's Transl.

²³ Both these epistles are contained in Junius, 121, among the Bodleian MSS. The first, which begins at f. 101, is entitled *Epistola de Canonibus*,

and is addressed to bishop Wulfsine. It is a general account of such canonical regulations as the writer thought, probably, most material for the guidance of ordinary clergymen. Spelman and Wilkins have both printed a considerable portion of this epistle from a mutilated MS. at Cambridge; as it seems, from Gg. 3—28, a quarto volume in the public library, lettered upon the back, *Ælfrici Sermones*, and pronounced by Wanley to have formed a part of Leofric's donation to the church of Exeter. Spelman has, indeed, by his heading of this epistle, rather intimated, that he has taken what he has published of it from a MS. in the library of Corpus Christi College; but the copy there seems to be complete, and the learned editor's transcript ends thus: þ hī on heopa bedde lazon þonne hī ȝeȝnemmedon. Exactly here the MS. in the public library is defective. Spelman adds, *Reliqua abscidit nequam aliquis plagiarius, nec labore reparanda sunt, vel pretio.*" The following is among the matter which this *worthless pilferer* has torn away, and it will probably supply a sufficient explanation of his act. *Some priests keepe the housel that is consecrate on Easter-day, all the yeare for sicke men. But they doe greatly amisse, because it waxeth hoary. And these will not understand how grievous penance the pœnitential booke teacheth by this, if the housel become hoary or rotten, or if it bee lost, or bee eaten of mouse or beast, by negligence. Men shall reserve more carefully that holy housel, and not reserve it too long, but consecrate other of new for sicke men alwayes within a weeke or a fortnight, that it bee not so much as hoary. For so holy is the housel which to-day is hallowed, as that which*

on Easter-day was hallowed. That housel is Christ's body, not bodily, but ghostly. Not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which hee spake, when he blessed bread and wine to housel a night before his suffering, and said by the blessed bread, This is my body; and againe by the holy wine, This is my blood which is shed for many, in forgiveness of sins. Understand now that the Lord, who could turne that bread before his suffering to his body, and that wine to his bloud ghostly; that the selfe same Lord blesseth daily, through the priest's hands, bread and wine to his ghostly body, and to his ghostly bloud." (L'Isle's Transl.) To this extract is appended the original Saxon. This is also to be seen with a Latin version in Whelock's Bede, (p. 332.) and the greatest part of it in Foxe, (p. 1041.) who was probably the original transcriber. Whelock, however, who published subsequently to Spelman, seems to have been wholly unaware of the fact, that this passage belongs to the mutilated epistle of Ælfric, which that learned knight communicated to the world.

Of Ælfric's second epistle, which begins at f. 111, in the Bodleian MS. and is entitled, *De Secunda Epistola Quando Dividitur Crisma*, that portion has been repeatedly published, which overthrows a confidence in the antiquity of a belief in transubstantiation. This is found in Foxe, L'Isle, and Whelock. The following is the concluding and most important portion of it, as presented by L'Isle. "*The Lord which hallowed housel before his suffering, and saith, that the bread was his owne body, and that the wine was*

truly his blood; he halloweth daily, by the hands of the priest, bread to his body, and wine to his blood, in ghostly mystery, (on gærthcepe gepyne: sic, to pítanne heopena píceŕ gepynu: to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven. St. Matt. xiii. 11.) as wee read in bookes. And yet that lively bread is not bodily so, notwithstanding: not the selfe same body that Crist suffered in. Nor that holy wine is the Saviour's blood which was shed for us, in bodily thing, but in ghostly understanding. Both bee truly that bread his body, and that wine also his blood, and was the heavenly bread, which wee call Manna, that fed, forty yeares, God's people. And the cleare water which did then run from the stone in the wilderness, was truly his blood, as Paul wrote on some of his Epistles, Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt, &c. All our fathers ate, in the wilderness, the same ghostly meat, and dranke the same ghostly drinke. They dranke of that ghostly stone, and that stone was Crist. The Apostle hath said, as you now have heard, that they all did eat the same ghostly meat, and they all did drinke the same ghostly drinke. And hee saith not bodily, but ghostly. And Crist was not yet borne, nor his blood shed, when that the people of Israel ate that meat, and dranke of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Crist, though hee so said. It was the same mystery in the old Law, and they did ghostly signifie that ghostly housel of our Saviour's body, which wee consecrate now."

This epistle contains various directions for public worship, the Decalogue, according to prevailing,

but discreditable usage, the eight great vices, with their antagonistic virtues, and some general admonitions.

Of Ælfric's two epistles copies in Latin are preserved among the Parker MSS. in the library of C. C. C. C. (CCLXV.) a volume referred to the eleventh century, and containing various canonical sanctions. In the second of these epistles, the part which corresponds with the extract above, (p. 177,) has been carefully erased with a knife. We are at no loss for a reason why. When, however, the MS. came once more, at the Reformation, into the hands of those who held the ancient doctrine, this passage was restored from another MS. and a marginal note was appended, explaining the alteration of the hand, and the scraped appearance of the parchment.

Printed Paschal Homily.

24 Se þe et min plærce ·
 ⁊ min bloð ðrincð · he
 punað on me ⁊ ic on him ·
 ⁊ he hæfð þ̅ ece lif · ⁊ ic
 hine arære on þam end-
 nextan dæge. Ic eom re-
 liflica hlaƿ ðe of heofon-
 num artað · na swa swa
 eowere forð fæderas æ-
 ton ðone heofonlican hlaƿ
 on weƿtene · ⁊ ryððan
 swulton. Se ðe et ðisne
 hlaƿ · he leofað on ec-
 nýrre. Ðe halgode hlaƿ
 ær his þrowunge · ⁊ to-
 dælde to his discipulum ·
 þurc cwæðende · Etað þisne
 hlaƿ hit is min lichoma ·
 ⁊ doð þis on minum ge-
 mynde. Eft he bletrode
 win on anum calice · ⁊
 cwæð. Drincað ealle of
 þisum · ðis is min bloð þ̅
 þe bið for manegum azo-
 ten on synna forgyfe-
 nýrre. Ða apostoli dydon
 swa swa Lufu het · þ̅ hi
 halgodon hlaƿ ⁊ win to
 husle eft ryððan on his
 gemýnde. Eac swylce heo-
 ra æfter gencgan · ⁊ ealle
 sacerdas be Lufes hære
 halgiað hlaƿ ⁊ win to husle

L'Isle's Translation.

*He that eateth my flesh,
 and drinketh my blood,
 abideth in me, and I in
 him, and hath that ever-
 lasting life, and I shall
 raise him up in the last
 day. I am the lively
 bread, that came downe
 from heaven; not so as
 your fore-fathers eat that
 heavenly bread in the wil-
 derness, and afterwards
 died. He that eateth this
 bread, he liveth for ever.
 He blessed bread before
 his suffering, and divided
 it to his disciples, thus
 saying, Eat this bread;
 it is my body, and doe this
 in my remembrance. Also
 hee blessed wine in one
 cup, and said; Drinke ye
 all of this: This is my
 blood that is shed for
 many, in forgiveness of
 sins. The Apostles did
 as Crist commanded, that
 is, they blessed bread and
 wine to housel againe af-
 terward in his remem-
 brance. Even so also,
 since their departure, all
 priests, by Crist's com-*

C. C. C. C. MS.

Se man ƿe þe þicgeð
minne lichaman · 7 ðrinced
min þ halige bloð · ƿe pun-
að on me 7 ic beo on him.

Transl. C. C. C. C. MS.

*The man who receiveth
my body, and drinketh
that holy blood of mine,
he abideth in me, and I
be in him.*

He halgode hlaƿ ær hir
þƿopunge · 7 toðælde hir
ðircipulum · 7 þur cƿæð
Ætað þirne hlaƿ hit is
min lichama · 7 doð þir
on minum gemýnde Eft
he bletrode ƿin on anum
calice · 7 cƿæð · Drincað
ealle of þirum · ðis is min
bloð þ bið for manegum
azoten on rýnna forgiƿe-
nerre · Eft rýððan þa aƿor-
tolas dydon rpa rpa Lƿurc
hæt · þ hi halgodon hlaƿ
to hurle · 7 ƿin on hir
gemýnde · Eac rƿýlce heo-
ra æfter genzan ealle
birceopas 7 racerðas be
Lƿurter hære halgiað hlaƿ
7 þin to hurle on hir na-

*He blessed bread before
his suffering, divided it
to his disciples, and thus
said : Eat this bread ; it
is my body ; and do this
in my remembrance. Also
he blessed wine in one
cup, and said ; Drink ye
all of this : This is my
blood that is shed for
many, in forgiveness of
sins. Again afterward
the Apostles did as Crist
commanded, that (is), they
blessed bread and wine
to housel, in his remem-
brance Even so also
since their departure, all
bishops and priests ; by
Crist's commandment,*

Printed Paschal Homily.

on hƿ naman mid þære
 apostolican bletsunge. Nu
 smeodon gehƿilce men
 oft. ⁊ ȝit ȝelome sme-
 ȝað. hu se hlaƿ ðe bið of
 corne ȝeȝearcodb. ⁊ þurh
 fýrfer hætan abacen mæge
 beon apend to Lƿurter li-
 chaman. oððe þ þin. þe
 bið of manegum beƿum
 appunzen. peorðe apend
 þurh ænigne bletsunge to
 drihtner blode. Nu rec-
 ȝe se gehƿilcum mannum
 þ þume ðing ȝind ȝecpe-
 dene be Lƿurte þurh ȝe-
 tacnunge. þume þurh ȝe-
 ƿurum ðinge. Soð ðing
 is ⁊ ȝeƿis. þ Lƿurte ƿær
 of mædene acenned. ⁊
 ȝylfƿiller ðropode deað.
 ⁊ ƿær bebyrged. ⁊ on
 ðisum dæge of deað aƿar.
 ðe is ȝecpeðen hlaƿ þurh
 ȝetacnunge. ⁊ lamb. ⁊
 leo. ⁊ ȝehu eller. ðe is
 hlaƿ ȝehaten. forðan he
 is ure lif ⁊ engla. ðe is
 lamb ȝecpeðen for hƿ

L'Isle's Translation.

mandment, doe bless bread
 and wine to housel, in his
 name with the Apostolike
 blessing. Now some men
 have often searched, and
 doe yet often search, how
 bread that is gathered of
 corne, and through fire's
 heat baked, may be turned
 to Crist's bodie, or how
 wine that is pressed of
 many grapes, is turned,
 through one (any) bless-
 ing, to the Lord's blood.
 Now say we to such men,
 that some things be spoken
 of Crist by signification,
 some things by certaine.
 True thing is, and cer-
 taine, that Crist was borne
 of a maid, and suffered
 death of his owne accord,
 and was buried, and on
 this day rose from death.
 He is said bread by sig-
 nification, and a Lambe,
 and a Lion, and a Moun-
 taine. (and how else, it
 ought to have been ren-
 dered.) He is called
 bread, because he is our
 life, and angels' life. Hee
 is said to be a Lambe for

*C. C. C. C. MS.**Transl. C. C. C. C. MS.*

man mid þære apor̃toli-
can blet̃runge.

*bless bread and wine to
housel in his name with
the apostolic blessing.*

Printed Paschal Homily.

uncæððinýrre. Leo for þære rþrencðe. þe he oferþriððe ðone rþranzan deofol. Ac swa þeah æfter forðum gecynde nis Eriht naðor ne hlafr. ne lamb. ne leo. Ðri is ðonne þ halige husel gecpeðen Erihtes lichama. oððe his blod. gif hit nis forðlice þ þ hit gehaten is. Soðlice se hlafr. 7 þ win se beoð þurh racepða mærran gehalgode oðer þing hi ateopiað menniscum andgಿತum priðutan. and oðer þing hi clýpiað prið innan geleaffullum modum. Wiðutan hi beoð gerepene hlafr 7 win ægþer ge on hipe. ge on rþræce. Ac hi beoð forðlice. æfter þære halgunge. Erihtes lichama. 7 his blod ðurh gartlice genýnu. Ðæðen cild bið gefulod. ac hit ne bræt na his hip priðutan þeah ðe hit beo priðinnan apend. Ðit bið gebroht rýnfull þurh adames forgægednýrre to þam fante fate. Ac hit bið appogen fram eallum

L'Isle's Translation.

his innocencie; a Lion for his strength wherwith he overcame the strong devill. But Crist is not so, notwithstanding, after true nature, neither bread, nor a Lamb, nor a Lion. Why is then that holy housel called Crist's body or his blood, if it be not truly that it is called? Truly the bread and the wine, which by the masse of the priest is hallowed, shew one thing without to humane understanding, and another thing they call within to believing minds. Without they be seene bread and wine both in figure and in taste; and they be truly, after their hallowing, Crist's body, and his blood, through ghostly mystery. An heathen child is christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font-stone sinfull, through Adam's disobedience. Howbeit he is washed from all

*C. C. C. C. MS.**Transl. C. C. C. C. MS.*

Soðlice ge hlaƿ. ⁊ þ̅ pin
 þe beoð þurh heora mæ-
 ran gehalgode oðer þing
 hi ætýpiað menniscum
 andgýtum. ⁊ oþre ðing
 hi clýpiað wiðinnan ge-
 leaƿfullum modum. Wi-
 ðutan hi beoð gerepene
 hlaƿ ⁊ pin ægðer ge on
 hipe ge on ƿƿæce. Ac hi
 beoð soðlice. æfter þære
 halgunge. Erifter licha-
 ma ⁊ his bloð. þurh gart-
 lice gerinu. Hæden cild
 þe man ƿullað ne bƿæt hit
 na his hip wiðutan. ac
 hit bið ƿƿa ðeah wiðinnan
 apend. ⁊ aƿogen. on þam
 fante. ƿƿam eallum ƿyn-
 num ðƿa is eac þ̅ halige
 fant-ƿæter oðrum ƿæ-
 terum gelic on hipe. ac

*Truly the bread, and the
 wine that be, through their
 mass, hallowed, one thing
 they shew to human un-
 derstandings without, and
 another thing they call
 within to believing minds.
 Without, they be seen
 bread and wine, both in
 hue, and in speech. But
 they be truly, after the
 hallowing, Crist's body
 and his blood, through
 ghostly mystery. A hea-
 then child, whom one bap-
 tiset, it changes not its
 hue without; but it is, ne-
 vertheless, within turned,
 and washed, in the font,
 from all sins. So is also
 the holy font-water like
 other waters, in hue, but*

Printed Paschal Homily.

rynnum wiðinnan. Ðeah
 ðe hit wiðutan his hip ne
 aþende. Eac swylce þæt ha-
 lige fænt wæter ðe is ge-
 haten hiser wylsprung. is
 gelic on hire oðrum wæ-
 terum. 7 is underðeod
 bryrnunge. ac þær hal-
 gan garter miht genea-
 læcþ þam bryrnigendli-
 cum wætere. Ðurh fa-
 cerða bletsunge. 7 hit
 mæg ryþþan lichaman. 7
 swaþe apþean fram eallum
 rynnum. Ðurh garterlice
 mihte. Efre nu we ge-
 reof tra ðing on þisum
 anum geseahte. After
 soðum gecynde. þæt wæter
 is bryrniendlic wæter. 7
 æfter garterlice geþrynu
 hæfð halpende mihte. Swa
 eac gif we geseaþ þæt ha-
 lige husel æfter licham-
 licum andgite. þonne ge-
 reo we þæt hit is geseaht
 bryrniendlic 7 aþendedlic.
 Gif we þa garterlican mihte
 ðær on tocnapað ðonne
 undergite we þæt ðær is
 his on 7 forgyfð undeað-
 lienýfre þam ðe hit mid
 geleafan þicgað. Micel is

L'Isle's Translation.

*sin within, though he hath
 not changed his shape
 without. Even so the holy
 font-water, that is called
 the well-spring of life, is
 like in shape to other wa-
 ters, and is subject to cor-
 ruption, but the Holy
 Ghost might cometh to
 the corruptible water,
 through the priest's bless-
 ing, and it may after wash
 the body and soule from
 all sinne, through ghostly
 might. Behold now we
 see two things in this
 one creature. After true
 nature that water is cor-
 ruptible water, and after
 ghostly mystery hath hal-
 lowing (healing) might.
 So also if wee behold that
 holy housel after bodily
 understanding, then see
 wee that it is a creature
 corruptible and mutable.
 If wee acknowledge there-
 in ghostly might, then un-
 derstand we that life is
 therein, and that it giveth
 immortality to them that
 eat it with belief. Much
 is betwixt, &c. (supply*

*C. C. C. C. MS.**Transl. C. C. C. C. MS.*

þurh þær racepðer blet-
 runge ġenealæcð þær hal-
 ġan ġarter miht. 7 hit
 rýððan aþpýhð þa raple
 fram eallum rýnnum.
 þurh ġartlice mihte.

*through the priest's bless-
 ing, the Holy Ghost's
 might cometh, and it af-
 terwards washeth the soul
 from all sins, through
 ghostly might.*

Printed Paschal Homily.

&c. (see note 20.) ȝarȝlice
to underſtandenne. Ða
hpæt ȝpa on þam hurele iſ
þe uſ liſer eðpirt for-
ȝiſð. ꝥ iſ of þære ȝarȝli-
can mihte ȝ ungeſepen-
licpe ƿremmincȝe. For-
ði iſ ꝥ halȝe hurel ȝeha-
ten ȝerȳnu. ƿorþan þe
oþer ðinȝ iſ þænon ȝeſe-
pen. ȝ oþer þinȝ under-
ȝiten. Ðæt ꝥ þær ȝeſe-
pen iſ hæfð lichamlic hup
ȝ ꝥ ꝥ pe þænon under-
ſtandað hæfð ȝarȝlice
mihte. Witodlice Lpirt-
ter lichama þe deað þpo-
pode. ȝ of deaðe aȝar-
ne ȝpȳlt næfpe heonon
ƿorð. ac iſ ece ȝ unpƿo-
piendlic. Ðæt hurel iſ
hƿilpendlic. na ece. Bpof-
mendlic. ȝ bið ȝtice-mæ-
lum todæled. Betpux to-
ðum tocopen. ȝ into þam
buce aȝend. ac hit bið
þeah hpæþene æfter ȝarȝ-
licpe mihte on ælcum dæle
eall. Manega underƿoð
ðone halȝan lichaman. ȝ
he bið ȝpa þeah on ælcum
dæle eall æfter ȝarȝlicpe
ȝerȳnu. Deah ȝume menn

L'Isle's Translation.

what follows from note
20.) *all is ghostly to be
understood. Whatsoever
is in that housel, which
giveth substance of life,
that is of the ghostly
might, and invisible do-
ing. Therefore is that
holy housel called a mys-
terie, because there is one
thing in it seene, and an-
other thing understood.
That which is there seene
hath bodily shape: and
that we do there under-
stand hath ghostly might.
Certainly Crist's body
which suffered death, and
rose from death, never
dieth henceforth; but is
eternal and unpassible.
That housel is temporal,
not eternal; corruptible,
and dealed into sundry
parts; chewed betweene
teeth, and sent into the
belly: howbeit, neverthe-
lesse, after ghostly might
it is all (whole) in every
part. Many receive that
holy body, and yet, not-
withstanding, it is so all
in every part, after ghost-*

C. C. C. C. MS.

Transl. C. C. C. C. MS.

Printed Paschal Homily.

ȝeſceote læſſe dæl ne bið
 ȝpa ðeah na mape miht
 on þam mapan dæle ðonne
 on þam læſſan. forþan þe
 hit bið on ælcum menn
 anȝund æfter ðære un-
 ȝeſcepenlican mihte. Ðeow
 ȝeſýnu iſ peðð ȝ hiſ.
 Eriſter lichama iſ foð-
 færtnýſſ. Ðiſ peðð pe
 healdað ȝeſýnelice. oð þ
 pe becumon to þære foð-
 færtnýſſe. ȝ þonne bið
 þiſ peðð ȝeendod. Soðlice
 hit iſ ȝpa ȝpa pe ær cwæ-
 don Eriſter lichama ȝ hiſ
 blod. na lichamlice ac
 ȝaſtlice. Ne ȝceole ȝe
 ȝmeagan hu hit ȝedon
 ȝý. ac healdan on eow-
 rum ȝeleaſan þ hit ȝpa
 ȝedon ȝý. We ȝædað on
 oþære bec ðe iſ ȝehaten
 vitar patrum þ tpegen
 munecar abædon æt Gode
 ſume ſputelunȝe be þam
 halȝan huſle. ȝ æfter
 þære bene ȝeſtodon him
 mæſſan. Ða ȝeſawon hi
 licȝan an cild on þam ȝeo-
 fode ðe ȝe mæſſe ppeoſt

L'Isle's Translation.

*lymysterie. Though some
 chew lesse, deale, yet is
 there no more might, not-
 withstanding, in the more
 part, than in the lesse, be-
 cause it is all in all men,
 after the invisible might.
 This mystery is a pledge
 and a figure: Crist's body
 is truth it selfe. This
 pledge we doe keepe mys-
 tically, until that we be-
 come to the truth itself,
 and then is this pledge
 ended^a. Truly it is so
 as we before have said,
 Crist's body and his bloud:
 not bodily, but ghostly.
 And ye should not search
 how it is done, but hold it
 in your belief, that it is
 so done. We reade in
 another book, called Vita
 Patrum, that two monkes
 desired of God some de-
 monstration touching the
 holy housel, and after, as
 they stood to heare masse,
 they saw a childe lying
 on the altar, where the
 priest said mass, and*

^a It seems hardly doubtful, that in this and the preceding sentence is an allusion to the prayer in note 1.

*C. C. C. C. MS.**Transl. C. C. C. C. MS.*

We rædað on þære bec
 þe is gehaten vita pa-
 trum. ⁊ tpezen mune-
 car bædon æt gode ru-
 me rputelunze be þam
 halgan husele. ⁊ þa æfter
 þære bene. hi gerædon
 him mærran. Ða gera-
 pon on þam peofode an
 cild. ⁊ goder engel stod

*We read in the book which
 is called Vita Patrum, that
 two monks prayed of God,
 some demonstration con-
 cerning the holy housel,
 and then after their
 prayers they stood to hear
 mass. Then they saw,
 on the altar, a child, and
 God's angel stood with a*

Printed Paschal Homily.

æt mærrode. ⁊ Godes
 engel stod mid handrexe
 andbiðende oð þ̅ re pre-
 oſt þ̅ hurel tobræc. ⁊ þa
 tolyðode re engel þ̅ cild on
 þam diſce. ⁊ hiſ blod in-
 to þam calice ageat. Eft
 þa þa hi to þam hurel eo-
 don. Ða pearð hiſ apend
 to hlafe. ⁊ to wine. ⁊ hi
 hiſ ðýgedon. gode ðanci-
 gende þæne ſputelunze.
 Eac re halga Gnegornur
 abæd æt Lurte. þ̅ he æ-
 teoſede anum tþýnigen-
 dum piſe embe hiſ geþý-
 nu micleſe ſeþunze. Ðeo
 eode to hurel mid tþýni-
 gendum mode. ⁊ Gne-
 gornur bezæt æt Gode
 Ðærrihte þ̅ him bam
 pærð æteoſed ſeo ſnæd
 Ðær hurel þe heo þicgan
 ſceolde. ſpýlce þær læge
 on þam diſce aner ſin-
 gneſ lið eall gebloðogod.
 ⁊ Ðær piſeſ tþeonunz
 pearð þa gepihclæced. U-
 ton nu gehýpan Ðær apoſ-
 toleſ poſið embe þaſ ge-
 þýnu. Paulur re apoſtol
 cþæð be þam ealdan folce
 Iſrahel. Ður ſputende on

L'Isle's Translation.

*God's angel stood with a
 sword and abode looking
 until the priest brake the
 housel. Then the angel
 divided that child upon
 the dish, and shed his
 blood into the chalice. But
 when they did go to the
 housel, then it was turned
 to bread and wine, and
 they did eat it, giving
 God thanks for that shew-
 ing. Also St. Gregory
 desired of Crist that he
 would shew to a certain
 woman, doubting about
 his mystery, some great
 affirmation. Shee went
 to housel with doubting
 minde, and Gregory forth-
 with obtained of God, that
 to them both was shewed
 that part of the housel
 which the woman should
 receive, as if there lay in
 a dish a joynt of a finger
 all beblouded: and so the
 woman's doubting was then
 forthwith healed. But now
 heare the Apostle's word
 about this mystery. Paul,
 the Apostle, speaketh of
 the old Israelites, thus*

C. C. C. C. MS.

mid anum rexe andbidi-
 gende oð þ̅ re ppeort þ̅
 hurel tobræc. þa toly-
 ðode re engel þ̅ cild on
 þam ðirce. ⁊ hīr blod in-
 to þam calice aȝeat. ⁊ þa
 hī to þam hurel eodon.
 þa pearð hīc apend ſona
 to hlafe ⁊ to wine. ⁊ hī hīc
 ðiȝdon. ȝode þanciende
 þære ȝerputelunge. Eac
 re nædað þ̅ ſanctur ȝne-
 ȝorīur abæd æt cūrtē.
 þ̅ he ætȳpde anum tpeo-
 niȝendan piſe micle ȝe-
 rputelunge be þam halȝan
 hurel. þeo eode to hurel
 mid tpeoniȝendum mode.
 þa abæd re halȝa ȝneȝo-
 riur æt ȝode þær-ſihtē þ̅
 him bam pearð ætȳped
 reo ſnæd þær hurel þe
 heo þicȝan ſceolde. ſpȳl-
 ce þær læȝe on þam ðirce
 aner ſinȝer hīð eall blo-
 diȝ. ⁊ þær piſer tpeo-
 nunȝ pearð ſona ȝerūht-
 læced.

Transl. C. C. C. C. MS.

*sword, abiding until that
 the priest broke the hou-
 sel; and then the angel
 divided the child in the
 dish, and poured his blood
 into the chalice; and when
 they to the housel went,
 then was it soon turned
 to loaf and wine, and
 they received it; thanking
 God for the manifesta-
 tion. Also we read that
 St. Gregorius asked of
 Crist, that he would shew
 a great manifestation to
 a wife, doubting about the
 holy housel. She went
 to housel with doubting
 mind; then the holy Gre-
 gorius asked of God out-
 right, that to them both
 was shewn the portion of
 the housel which she should
 receive, as if there lay in
 the dish a finger's joint
 all bloody, and the wife's
 doubting was then healed.*

*Printed Paschal Homily.**L'Isle's Translation.*

hiƿ piſtole to ȝeleaƿful-
lum mannum. Calle upe
ƿorð-ƿæðeƿar ƿeƿon ȝe-
fulluðe on ƿolcne. ⁊ on
ſæ. ⁊ ealle hi eton þone
ȝlcan ȝaƿtlican mete. ⁊
ealle hi ðruncon þone ȝl-
can ȝaƿtlican ðrenc. Ði
ðruncon ƿoðlice of æƿ-
teƿ ƿilȝendan ſtane. ⁊
ſe ſtane ƿæſ Lƿiſt. Næſ
ſe ſtan ðe þ ƿæteƿ þa of-
pleop lichamlice Lƿiſt. ac
he ȝetacnode Lƿiſt.

*writing in his Epistle to
faithful men: all our fore-
fathers were baptised in
the cloud and in the sea:
and they all ate the same
ghostly meat and drank
the same ghostly drinke.
They drank truly of the
stone that followed them
and that stone was Crist.
Neither was that stone
then, from which the wa-
ter ranne, bodily Crist,
but it signified Crist.*

²⁵ The freedom of England from heretical taint, during the whole Saxon period, is a fact expressly attested, in consequence of an arrival from the continent of some unfortunate Albigenses, in the time of Henry II. These persecuted foreigners, being seized, were examined by a council assembled at Oxford, and refusing to recant, were branded in the forehead, scourged, and then turned out into the fields, to perish there miserably of cold and hunger. As it was winter, and no one dared to afford them either food or shelter, it is probable that their sufferings quickly found a termination. The passage relating to the admitted orthodoxy of England until the landing of these refugees from continental intolerance is the following. “Sane ab hac et ab aliis pestibus hæreticis immunis semper exstitit Anglia, cum in aliis mundi partibus tot pullulaverint hæreses. Et quidem hæc insula, cum, propter

incolentes Britones, Britannia diceretur, Pelagium in Oriente hæresiarcham futurum ex se misit, ejusque in se processu temporis errorem admisit : ad ejus peremptionem Gallicanæ ecclesiæ pia provisio semel et iterum beatissimum direxit Germanum. At ubi hanc insulam, expulsis Britonibus, natio possedit Anglorum, ut non jam Britannia sed Anglia diceretur, nullius unquam ex ea pestis hæreticæ virus ebullivit : sed nec in eam aliunde usque ad tempora Regis Henrici secundi tanquam propagandum et dilatandum introivit." (Guilielmi Neubrigensis Hist. Rerum Anglic. lib. II. cap. 13. Oxon. 1719. tom. I. p. 146.) To the extensive prevalence upon the continent of the heresy, as it is called, professed by these ancient Protestants, the following testimony is borne by the historian. "Hi nimirum olim ex Gasconia incerto auctore, habentes originem, *regionibus plurimis* virus suæ perfidiæ infuderunt. Quippe in latissimis Galliæ, Hispaniæ, Italiæ, Germaniæque provinciis *tam multi hac peste infecti esse dicuntur, ut secundum Prophetam, multiplicati esse super numerum videantur.*" Ibid. p. 145.

SERMON VIII.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND BEFORE
THE CONQUEST, AND SINCE THE
REFORMATION.

JEREMIAH vi. 16.

Thus saith the Lord, Stand ye in the ways, and ask for the old paths, where is the good way, and walk therein, and ye shall find rest for your souls.

RELIGIOUS principles incapable of establishing certainly their origin in a divine revelation are manifestly unworthy of reliance. Hence novelties in theology are among the most hollow and pernicious of those fascinating vents for vanity which exercise the perverse ingenuity of mankind. It was their inveterate indulgence of a taste for such innovations that had brought his countrymen to the very brink of ruin when Jeremiah penned the text. As he says elsewhere, speaking in the person of God, "My people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and have hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can

hold no water^a.” The pure faith delivered by Moses, and illustrated by the prophets, had been most injuriously mingled with Gentile refinements, abominations, and superstitions. The Jews had thus forfeited their title to be considered as God’s peculiar people. They had consequently no hope of that heavenly succour which they now so urgently needed. Nor could any claim to it be revived without a faithful return to the profession of those doctrines which their distant ancestry had undoubtedly received from a known communication of God’s will. This course, accordingly, the prophet earnestly presses upon their adoption, imploring them to seek again those old but long-forsaken ways which alone afforded any reasonable prospect of peace and safety.

A similar line of argument was used by the virtuous, indefatigable, and self-devoted scholars to whom Europe owes the Reformation. They represented, that various doctrines and usages had gradually arisen during the darker periods of medieval history, which a careful observation of ecclesiastical antiquity would infallibly convict of error and comparative novelty. Against these, indeed, bodies of men had protested, from time

^a Jerem. ii. 13.

immemorial, in every region of the west. Such opposition, however, had been branded as heretical, had been occasionally overawed by fierce persecution, and had habitually been rendered utterly subversive of temporal interest. Hence it had hitherto failed of gaining a permanent and effective establishment among persons of superior condition. But the season of this depression was now evidently gone. A spirit of agitation and enquiry had arisen which no force of mere authority, whether ecclesiastical or civil, appeared in the least likely to quell. Men eagerly sought “a reason of the hope that was in them^b ;” and they were no longer to be satisfied by references to the principles and practices of those generations which had immediately preceded their own. Leading individuals, convinced that the papal system was unsound, endeavoured to allay this general excitement, by dispensing advice resembling that of the text. It was represented, that would men diligently “ask for the old paths, the good way,” in which Christians trod before apostolic recollections were effaced, “and walk therein, they would find rest for their souls.”

It was upon the principle of thus provid-

^b 1 Pet. iii. 15.

ing satisfaction for the mind and safety for the soul, that our *own* incomparable Reformers proceeded, no less than their continental friends. Had they merely stripped Romish doctrines of scriptural authority, and encouraged every speculator to devise a religion for himself, they would, indeed, have provided an opening for admitting a deluge of disputatious heresy and illusory fanaticism. They followed, however, with unvarying steadiness Jeremiah's advice in the text. At every step of their cautious and discreet opposition to the papal system, they sought most anxiously and laboriously for the "old paths." Innovation and destruction were by no means their objects. What they merely desired was the restoration of England to a creed, for which, in every part, Scripture would supply proofs, and Catholic tradition confirmations.

In these endeavours, as originally conducted, our own country's theological antiquities appear to have been very nearly, if not entirely overlooked. An attention almost exclusive was indeed naturally fixed upon those illustrious fathers, whose authority has been profoundly revered for ages throughout the Christian world. Archbishop Parker, at a subsequent period, however, by the pub-

lication of Ælfric's most interesting and important testimonies, vindicated, even nationally, our eucharistic doctrines from the charge of novelty. Nor have insulated points of our reformed faith failed of receiving, from time to time, similar illustrations of their claims upon the grateful veneration of Englishmen. The present undertaking may, haply, under the blessing of Providence, in this way, prove farther useful. It has indicated unquestionably sources of information whence appeals to the creed of Anglo-Saxon times, in behalf of Romish principles, may be convicted of palpable unsoundness. Those who would thus justify an adherence to that religious system which the Reformation overthrew, are manifestly trusting for a staff to "a broken reed^c." A careful and unprejudiced enquiry would probably make it appear, that the doctrines which they brand as innovations approach much more nearly to the ancient religion of England than those which they profess themselves.

How plainly does the Church of ancient England agree with her modern daughter in maintaining the sufficiency of Scripture! Where will any trace be found, among the venerable monuments of Anglo-Saxon theo-

^c Isaiah xxvi. 6.

logy, of a dread and a jealousy respecting the use of those holy books, “which are able to make men wise unto salvation^d?” Where any intimation that these recorded “oracles of God^e” are not a complete repository of all that concerns the faith and morals of mankind? Our distant ancestry encountered no occasion, it is true, of making such an express declaration against an alleged unwritten word of God, as the progress of events at length drew from their posterity. Their testimony, however, against the existence of such a deposit is substantially the same. The whole tenour of their conduct, and theological remains, asserts in a manner sufficiently clear that “holy Scripture containeth all things necessary for salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith^f.”

Do not also our Ante-Norman ecclesiastical authorities add their suffrages to those of our Reformers, in excluding from a divine origin such appendages to the Old Testament as are uncontained in the Hebrew canon? St. Jerome, in fact, guided their judgment upon this important question, not less than

^d 2 Tim. iii. 15.

^e 1 Pet. iv. 11.

^f Art. VI.

he did that of England at a later period. Hence Bede, Alcuin, Ælfric, the great luminaries of our Anglo-Saxon progenitors, plainly shew that the books termed apocryphal were allowed to appear among Anglo-Saxon religious offices, not because they were admitted to the rank of divine revelations, but because they had long been esteemed useful “for example of life, and instruction of manners ^g.”

The source of faith in ancient and in modern England was therefore perfectly identical. In the former, no less than in the latter, existed no belief in an unwritten word, no canonicity was assigned to books of doubtful origin, disputable character, and unauthenticated pretensions. Our early progenitors were thus precluded equally with their descendants from affording a solemn attestation to any summaries of Christian doctrine, besides the three Creeds; to any ecclesiastical conventions, besides the first four general councils; those venerable and august assemblies, in which the vital truths of holy Scripture were carefully examined, and formally defined¹. Who will then expect to discover, among Anglo-Saxon theological remains, any symbol answering to the doctrinal compendium promulged under authority from Pope

^g Art. VI.

Pius IV. ? Who will esteem it even possible to find asserted any where among these interesting records, that the Catholic faith comprises thirteen articles in addition to the Nicene Creed ? Who will suppose that any one among the spiritual guides of ancient England would have denied salvation to all who might see in mere ecclesiastical authority no sufficient reason for admitting such an extensive supplement ? An inference must necessarily be drawn, from the records of English religious antiquity, that our national church, as established before the Conquest, acknowledged only those articles of faith which she has expressly sanctioned since the Reformation.

It will hence obviously follow, that our spiritual nursing-mother has agreed, in both these stages of her existence, respecting the evangelical sacraments. In Anglo-Saxon times the term *sacrament* was indeed loosely applied to every sacred sign. Our distant ancestry, therefore, might probably be found, not only to have equalled Romish authorities in the number of things invested apparently with a sacramental character, but even to have surpassed them. When we see chrism, however, described as a sacrament in the remains of ancient English divinity, shall we

venture to say that these venerable records, and the schoolmen, and the Trentine fathers, are identified with each other in their use of that term? Again; when Bede is known to name water and blood as the foundations of the Church; when Raban is found to pronounce expressly that the sacraments are Baptism and Chrism, the Body and Blood; how can we reasonably doubt that our Ante-Norman fathers attributed a character *properly* sacramental to those holy ordinances alone which are allowed that distinction by their Protestant posterity!

In ecclesiastical polity the Church of England has notoriously been uniform. Before the victorious Saxons a remnant of ancient British episcopacy retired into the more inaccessible regions of our island. From this venerable establishment, at a happier period, bishops, properly consecrated, were sent to preside over the spacious kingdoms of Northumberland and Mercia, districts evangelized by native missionaries. Augustine naturally planted episcopacy in such quarters of the land as were won over to receive instruction from him and his brethren. Our prelacy thus mounts upwards in one unbroken stream to the remotest periods in our country's annals. Such among us, accordingly, as are

called to the high privilege and responsibility of ministering in holy things, have the satisfaction of knowing that our commission has been regularly received. It has been intrusted to us in strict conformity with the usage of every age in ecclesiastical history. It is connected uninterruptedly with that distant and venerable epoch when apostles “appointed those who should set in order the things that were wanting, and ordain elders in every city^h.”

In another point, however, English religious discipline is commonly charged with a signal variation. The Anglo-Saxon Church is represented as having yielded an authority to the papacy which our national institutions have long peremptorily refused. Nor is it, indeed, capable of denial, that the Roman see was constantly regarded among our distant ancestry with a degree of affectionate esteem and grateful veneration, which offer a striking contrast to that habitual neglect, and to those occasional displays of contemptuous indignation, which it has received from England during the last three centuries. But let it be remembered that Ante-Norman times knew nothing of the political preten-

^h Tit. i. 5.

sions advanced by Gregory VII. and by some of his successors; they saw not solemnly established, as integral members of the Catholic faith, those thirteen articles which papal authority has now appended to the Nicene Creed, and which are obtruded upon the consciences of men under a bold denunciation of eternal perdition. The Roman see has therefore altered most materially both its worldly and its religious aspect since the Conquest. What was the light, however, in which our early progenitors viewed the pontiff? and what were the privileges conceded to him? Did they esteem St. Peter the rock upon which the Church was built, the janitor who held the privilege of closing heaven's gates against all who should decline obedience to his admitted successors, the leader under whose guidance *they* would individually proceed to the judgment-seat of Christ? Had they a papal legate constantly resident among them, claiming for his master a paramount jurisdiction, *at least* over their ecclesiastical affairs, and interfering habitually in their domestic polity? Was any disposition ever shewn among them to obey the pontifical authority, when it happened to be at variance with their own judgment? Did oaths of canonical obedience bind

their prelates to the Roman see? Was a complete ecclesiastical supremacy, within the realm, denied to their princes? An unqualified negative must reply to every one of these questions. Our Anglo-Saxon fathers understood uniformly by the metaphorical *rock*, in our blessed Lord's promise to St. Peter, no other than Jesus himself. They considered Cephas to have been appointed janitor of heaven merely by way of admonishing mankind, that all who would gain admission within the celestial portals must firmly maintain the faith which he so manfully professed. They designated *St. Paul* the *teacher of the Gentiles*, and, looking upon *him* as their spiritual head, expected to follow in his train on the great and awful day of account. Any agent of the Roman see very rarely planted his foot upon their soil, even as a transient visitor; nor does it appear that such a personage was ever treated among them with more deference than was deemed justly due to a canonist and divine of superior learning and ability. Wilfrid's application, and, still more signally, the scornful rejection of the Deutero-Nicene decrees, afford plain evidences that the pontiff, when opposed to domestic judgment, was not, in any degree, respected, either as an ecclesiastical or a doctrinal au-

thority. No prelate of the Anglo-Saxon Church was called upon to admit the superiority of any see over that of Canterbury. The English crown exercised all the rights of ecclesiastical supremacy before the Norman Conquest as completely, to the very fullest, as it has done since the Reformation. Substantially and effectively, therefore, Englishmen, in these later ages, have agreed, as to the papacy, with their distant ancestry. Complete alienation has indeed taken the place of amicable deference. But this alteration has resulted from many and important causes. Direct authority of any kind over our island was no more conceded, however, to the Roman bishop, during the period with which this undertaking is concerned, than it has been since the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's wise, patriotic, and venerated rule.

Nor, when it is recollected that our early Saxon fathers solemnly pronounced the worship of images an usage "altogether execrated by the Church of God²," how can their opinion as to this important question be pronounced at variance with that of their posterity? Our own Articles, indeed, merely characterise the principle upon which depend this and other similar usages, as "a fond thing,

vainly invented, and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of Godⁱ.” In such language appears no trace of that bold, overpowering indignation excited by image-worship in the luminaries of ancient England. The descendants of these faithful stewards, who so manfully and in such full integrity “kept that which was committed to their trust^k,” held not indeed their holy profession undefiled. But who will argue that their degenerate apostasy affects the voice of Anglo-Saxon tradition? By this had already been borne clear and decisive testimony to that very estimation of idolatry now maintained in the national Church. This fact is amply sufficient to prove that English Protestants, in refusing religious honours to the seductive works of human hands, merely follow the tradition of their fathers, merely profess a religious principle anciently established in their country.

Nor will a different conclusion flow from careful reflection upon that kindred usage, the invocation of angelic and departed spirits. If Bede had approved of such a practice, how injudiciously did he act, in teaching, from St. Austin, that no being is fitted for mediation between God and man, but one

ⁱ Art. XXII.

^k 1 Tim. vi. 20.

both divine and human ! If the compilers of our ancient religious offices esteemed it reasonable or allowable to call upon angels or the dead, how came their service-books to display no trace of that opinion ? Evidently they held in profoundest veneration God's ministering spirits, and the brighter ornaments of their blessed Saviour's unseen kingdom. For aid from the prayers of these happy beings prevailed, accordingly, a general, an excessive, perhaps also an injudicious anxiety. Yet addresses ascended to the footstool of Omniscience only. Whence this remarkable restriction, unless there was indeed an identity of views respecting invocation between ancient and modern England ? How completely does an examination of our ancient liturgies vindicate from the charge of novelty those who discarded from English service-books all invocation of created beings !

Nor is there any disagreement between our national Church in Ante-Norman and in modern times, respecting the indispensable necessity of true repentance. Who can shew the belief of our Saxon fathers in the power of attrition, if attended by acts termed sacramental, to secure the soul from eternal ruin ? Are not, on the contrary, the religious monuments of our distant ancestry replete with

plain declarations and grounds for inevitable inferences, that salvation is promised to those alone whose hearts are touched by genuine contrition? Probably there are those who fain would say, "If the case, indeed, be so, the modern Church of England has innovated upon her venerable mother; as is testified abundantly by an absolution provided for the sick in the Book of Common Prayer." This formulary will be found, however, if carefully observed, to warrant no such conclusion. It has indeed been modelled upon those indicative forms of absolving penitents which were unknown to any branch of the Catholic Church, until a period comparatively recent. Inveterate prejudices, it is likely, our Reformers reasoned, would hardly allow the people to surrender absolutely an assurance of pardon which had calmed the apprehensions of several preceding generations. Where men, therefore, desired earnestly to hear the customary form of absolution, that satisfaction, if warranted apparently by their states of mind respectively, was not to be denied. But those who kindly thus provided for alleviating the griefs of a sick bed and a wounded conscience, were careful to prevent their indulgence from inflicting an injury upon the soul. They prefaced, accordingly, the voice

of seemingly authoritative consolation, by declaring that the Church's absolving power extends to those alone "who truly repent and believe" in Jesus Christ. No sinner, therefore, merely attrite, has the smallest expectation of escaping eternal death offered to him in the indicative absolution of our service-book. Every hope of such a person is indeed expressly cut off, and the penitent is plainly warned, that unless he brings true repentance to the footstool of Omnipotence, he must expect justice, and not mercy.

In another instance, connected with penitential doctrines, the modern Church of England has undoubtedly receded something from principles entertained within the bosom of her Anglo-Saxon mother. The doctrine of compensating for iniquities by proportionate austerities has not survived the Reformation. But can this doctrine securely claim support from holy scripture? Was it not, probably, largely indebted for establishment among Christians to the Platonism which early found an asylum within the Church? Can its rejection, therefore, by those who remodelled our ecclesiastical institutions, be pronounced a fit occasion either for surprise or regret? In this abandonment of ancient usages, it was not, however, by any means in-

tended that the religious discipline of former times should have been included. Those illustrious men who guided England in her separation from the papal see, were not less anxious than had been their Saxon fathers to guard from scandal the holy church of God. Had Cranmer, accordingly, and his admirable colleagues been spared to complete their plans of reformation, they would have striven earnestly for the restraint of moral obliquities by ecclesiastical censures. They went, indeed, even so far as to propose that no Christian should enjoy the public consolations of his holy profession, unless he cleared himself from every serious imputation¹. But such severity, however theoretically good, is impracticable in communities of great extent. Hence there is no reason to lament that an attempt was never made to force it upon the country. Nor would the subject have been mentioned here, had it not been desired to trace as far as possible the similarity of views entertained by the divines of Ante-Norman England, and those who, at the price of many arduous labours, many struggles, many painful sacrifices, accomplished the Reformation.

These two classes of intellectual Englishmen, so remote from each other in age, ordi-

¹ See Reform. I.l. Eccl. de Purgatione.

narily so similar in religious principles, differed, however, considerably upon the question of purgatory. A general expectation, undoubtedly, prevailed in Anglo-Saxon times, of some cleansing fires reserved for a large number of disembodied souls. By the Reformers all such expectations were ranked among “fond things, vainly invented, without any warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.” It should, however, be recollected, that even here the two parties compared in this discourse are not opposed so strongly to each other as first impressions might lead us to imagine. At the Reformation, a belief in purgatory had grown into a solemnly recognised article of faith. Divines controverting Romish doctrines, wholly denied it such an exalted character, and maintained, indeed, that it could advance no solid grounds of *any* description for claiming the confidence of mankind. The remains of early English theology very rarely offer a decided negative even to *this* assertion. They merely treat the doctrine of a purgatory, in some shape or other, as credible and reasonable. Hence it is sometimes brought forward, at others unceremoniously neglected. What cautious reasoner, competently informed, would therefore undertake to prove that even upon *this*

question the Church of ancient England solemnly maintained an article of faith which her modern daughter has repudiated? Was not the purgatorial hypothesis manifestly entertained among our distant ancestry as a mere speculation, which individuals were considered free to hold according to their several views, or to reject altogether?

Upon the most prominent article of the Romish creed, however, the identity of belief between ancient and modern England is complete, strongly marked, and unquestionable. “Transubstantiation,” say our Articles, “or the change of the substance of bread and wine, in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy writ, but it is repugnant to the plain words of scripture, overthroweth the nature of a sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions. The body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper only after a heavenly and spiritual manner; and the mean whereby the body of Christ is received is faith. The sacrament of the Lord’s Supper was not by Christ’s ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, and worshipped^m.” And does not Bede evidently teach this doctrine, when he represents the Lord’s Supper as the legitimate

^m Art. XXVIII.

successor of the Passover; an ordinance of a nature manifestly typical? when he speaks of eucharistic celebrations as mysterious and sacramental? when he plainly says that our Lord delivered to his disciples the *figure* of his holy body and blood? Do not the divines of our ancient school universally and most remarkably bear testimony against a belief in the corporal presence? Can any reasoning be directed more unequivocally against proofs alleged from scripture in favour of transubstantiation than Ælfric's parallel between the term *bread*, applied to our Lord's body in one place, and the terms *lamb* and *lion*, applied to his person in other places? Each of these appellations, observes that luminary of ancient England, is equally remote from strict propriety of speech. Each of them, therefore, must be alike referred to the common and allowable use of a figurative phraseology. Hence no scriptural proof whatever, in Ælfric's judgment, can be drawn from the words of Jesus at his last Supper. Again: this illustrious instructor of our distant ancestry remarks, that the blessed Jesus, in consecrating the Eucharist, designated it as his body and blood, although his precious body at that time had not been torn, his precious blood not shed. Transubstantiation, then, is pro-

nounced by Ælfric, not less obviously than by our Reformers, "repugnant to the plain words of Scripture." Nor does the language of this eminent divine import less clearly that such a doctrine would "overthrow the nature of a sacrament." He teaches, after St. Austin, happily there preserved by Fulgentiusⁿ, that a mystery or sacrament offers one thing to the corporeal senses, another to the mental apprehension. Thus the eucharistic elements are temporal and corruptible, the objects represented by them incorruptible and eternal. That the body of Christ is administered only "in a heavenly and spiritual manner" is asserted expressly and repeatedly in Ælfric's most important remains. As for reservation of the Eucharist, it was practised among our Anglo-Saxon fathers only for private administration to the sick, and for public administration in the church on Good Friday. Usage enjoined a participation in the holy Supper on that mournful anniversary, but forbade its consecration. Bread accordingly, hallowed on the preceding day, then was made to symbolize the spiritual repast. Of adoration, or circumgestion of the Eucharist, it is notorious that not a single trace is afforded by

ⁿ See note 4, Sermon VII.

the more venerable religious antiquities, either of this country or of any other.

How complete, also, is Alcuin's agreement with that clause which was appended to the article against transubstantiation under king Edward! "Because," it is in this inculcated, "as holy Scripture doth teach, Christ was taken up into heaven, and there shall continue until the end of the world, a faithful man ought not either to believe or openly confess the real and bodily presence, as they term it, of Christ's flesh and blood, in the sacrament of the Lord's supper³." Had not Charlemain's illustrious English friend entertained opinions in perfect unison with these very words of our admirable reformers, is it likely that he would have represented the blessed Jesus as absent corporally from earth until the day of judgment? Is not the Saviour, according to modern Romish apprehensions, drawn down sensibly, bodily, among his worshippers in myriads of places, during many of the earlier hours in every passing day? Wherefore the admonitory bell, the pealing organ, the military salute, the bended knee, unless to greet with becoming adoration the gracious descent of an incarnate Deity? Is it not believed also, that Jesus always continues corporally amidst his people

in eucharistic reservations, gracing every pix? How came Alcuin, then, to overlook the manifest propriety of somewhat qualifying his denial of Christ's corporeal presence in the world? Did incarnations of the Saviour, dignifying every mass, escape entirely his habitually pious, thoughtful mind? Or could he deem that language tending to throw a doubt upon the reality of such glorious incarnations was fitting, or indeed excusable, in one who numbered among the talents intrusted for his diligent improvement a most extensive influence over the public mind? Or lastly, did this distinguished son of ancient England, like the framers of king Edward's Articles, believe the incarnate Saviour to be corporally present only at the right hand of his almighty Father's majesty?

Those who would readily return that affirmative answer which this last question might appear capable of exacting, will reflect with pleasure, that our Church, both before the Conquest and since the Reformation, has been perfectly consistent in restricting the participation of Christ's body and blood to those who believe effectively his holy religion. The venerable remains of ancient English theology are unblemished by the remotest hint of a possibility that irrational

tenants of our earthly home, and worse than they, that infidels and reprobates may profane the precious body and blood of our immaculate Redeemer, by feeding upon it even to their condemnation. Our Articles affirm, that “the wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally press with their teeth, as St. Austin saith, the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ.” Bede, accordingly, using the very words ordinarily attributed to St. Austin, here cited by the compilers of our Articles, restricts the feeding upon our Lord’s body and blood to such as despise the world, and are poor in spirit^o. In another place he presents Austin’s language uninterpolated, and this is fatal to a belief in transubstantiation^p. Ælfric, also, adopting that important discourse of the famous bishop of Hippo, which has long been excluded from his collected works, but which fortunately appears with his name in copies of Fulgentius, thus affirms: “He that receives the eucharist, not being in the bond of peace, receives no mystery *for* himself, but a witness *against* himself.”

^o Bed. in Joh. vi. Opp. V. 509. Note 4.

^p In 1 Cor. x. Opp. VI. 479.

Of the cordial agreement between our Saxon fathers and ourselves, in maintaining that “the cup of the Lord is not to be denied to lay-people^q,” their whole practice is a sufficient attestation. Not even the infant hanging at its mother’s breast, when admitted, in compliance with prevailing usage, to the sacramental feast, was excluded from that consecrated liquor of which our blessed Saviour said, “Drink ye all of it.” Upon this point, however, there is no dispute. Ignorance must indeed be complete and palpable, which could suppose that any who frequented the Lord’s table in Anglo-Saxon times were denied a share of eucharistic wine.

Sufficient enquiry will thus establish incontestably for the Church of England, as existing before the Conquest, a perfect identity of doctrine, respecting our Lord’s presence in his holy Supper, with that which she has maintained since the Reformation. What shall we say, then, for the heartless treatment received within the very walls of this elegant and majestic fabric by the honest, venerable, zealous, and truly apostolical Latimer? What, for that which insulted and sought to embarrass and intimidate the blameless, dignified,

^q Art. XXX. See note 4. Sermon VII.

scholarly, and consistent Ridley? What, for that which so severely tried the gentle spirit, conscious rectitude, physical self-possession, profound attainments of the discreet, indefatigable, but somewhat timid Cranmer? Were they any *other* than the eucharistic doctrines of Bede and Ælfric for which the three self-devoted prelates boldly and earnestly contended within this holy place? Was it an inflexible adherence to any other principle of belief that drew upon them, in the divinity-school which near us gracefully rears its elaborately-fretted roof, a tumultuous torrent of indignities and clamour, (always infamous from educated assemblies, doubly so when coupled with a glaring want of sympathy?) Was it not because the lingering love of life, insidiously awakened in the breast of Cranmer, had, fatally for his peace, wrung from him some disingenuous expressions of a disposition to forsake these identical doctrines, that he stood within a few paces of this very spot, his venerable countenance bathed in tears, his whole figure a perfect image of deepest contrition, most heart-rending humiliation? Was it not, because he, and his two illustrious brethren, duly mindful of our blessed Lord's admonition against the denial of his known truth before men, refused to

forsake these very doctrines, that eventually all the three braved the horrors of a violent and excruciating death, within the desiccated channel of the once-neighbouring city-fosse? And who shall overlook, among these mournful, yet consoling recollections, the dying Latimer's address to his fellow-sufferer? "From this day's struggle will arise a flame, which, by God's grace, will never cease to shine upon our country." The martyr's prayer was heard: God's grace was abundantly bestowed, and after a brief and gloomy, yet glorious interval, England nationally regained her ancient faith.

And shall we not acknowledge with lively gratitude the goodness of a merciful God in calling us to the profession of a faith established firmly upon the rock of Scripture, connected with the most venerable of our national antiquities, adorned by some of the noblest examples of self-devotion displayed in the records of our native land? Our spiritual nursing-mother, we should ever bear in mind, is no creature of the Reformation. Her ministerial commissions and her polity notoriously and undeniably flow upwards, in one regular, unbroken stream, to that unsuspected period, when Apostles and apostolic men prescribed rules for ordering Christ's inheritance

upon earth. Her doctrines, not only regarding the eucharist, but also other leading and distinctive principles of belief, are in perfect unison with those traditions which were taught by all the earliest luminaries of our distant ancestry. The Reformers did little more than expel from her bosom the gradual accumulation of medieval novelties, and abolish various observances dependent upon ecclesiastical tradition, and convicted by long experience of inutility and danger. In other respects, the renovation of our religious system restored the ascendancy of those doctrines which had been originally established in the land, and which had long been holden "whole and undefiled." Cranmer had attained the summit of professional eminence when he embarked in the work of Reformation. Nor were his fellow-labourers very far behind him. Rarely, therefore, have important changes been effected by individuals less likely to have acted from considerations merely personal and worldly. These eminent ministers of God's holy word and sacraments were, however, utterly unable to "find rest for their souls" in the doctrines which had gained possession of society. They diligently, therefore, "asked for the old paths," among the Fathers of the Church. By this wary

course they happily reached "the good way" in which their own Christian ancestry had originally trodden. Succeeding times, following their direction, have been hence enabled to repel triumphantly the charge of innovation. They have indeed shaken off the trammels of pontifical and scholastic authority. They have even discarded many of those usages and ceremonies which their earlier forefathers undoubtedly admitted. In doctrinal profession they will be found, however, to display a gratifying conformity with the most ancient of their country's theological authorities.

PROOFS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

OF

SERMON VIII.

¹ **T**HE first four general councils, although not honoured with any express testimony of approbation in the Thirty-nine Articles, are thus treated in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, a work which may be considered as a half-official declaration of the sentiments of our Reformers: “Nam quædam illorum (conciliorum sc.) qualia sunt præcipua illa quatuor, Nicenum, Constantinopolitanum primum, Ephesinum, et Calcedonense, magna cum reverentia amplectimur et suscipimus.” De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica: cap. 14. Ref. Ll. Eccl. Lond. 1640. p. 6.

² “To this narrative Harpsfield gives the title of *Commentitia et insulsa fabula*, and thinks it not writ by Sim. Dunelmensis, or Mat. Westminster, (he might have added Hoveden, the MS. History of Rochester,) but that it was anciently inserted into them. For answer to which he would be desired to produce any one old copy without it, not mangled, so as it doth *prodere furtum* by wanting it. I have seen divers of Hoveden MSS. some of Mat. West. but never did one wherein it was not

found, not in the margin, but in the text itself, and so it is Dunelmensis his MS. at Bennet Colledge in Cambridge. For my part, I do not know how any thing we mislike in history may not after this manner be rejected, if a relation gathered from monuments of an elder date, which are perisht, yet cited by one who lived not so long after the time he speaks of, but they might well come to his hands, whom we find very sincere in such citations as yet remain out of more old authors than himself, ever esteemed of good credit in the Church of God, and in his narration followed *ad verbum* by those who writing of the same matter succeeded him, I confess, I say, if this may be cast away as a lying and foolish fable, I know not what shall gain credit." Sir Roger Twisden's Historical Vindication of the Church of England. Lond. 1675. p. 182.

³ The whole of this clause, which forms part of the twenty-ninth Article, in king Edward's forty-two Articles, may be seen in Bishop Burnet's work. (art. 28.) The following is the general treatment of the question relating to transubstantiation, in the *Reformatio Legum*. After explaining the nature and uses of the Eucharist, the writer thus concludes: "Cum autem ad hæc omnia nec transubstantiatione opus sit, nec illa, quam fingere solebant, reali præsentia Christi; sed quidem potius hæc curiosa hominum inventa sint: Primum, contra naturam humanam a Filio Dei, nostra causa, sumptam; deinde, cum Scripturis divinis pugnent, et præterea cum universa sacramentorum ratione configant, ista tanquam frivola somnia merito desecanda curavimus, et oblivione obruenda; præsertim cum

magnum ex iis et perniciosum agmen superstitionum in Ecclesiam Dei importatum fuerit.” Ref. Ll. de Sacramentis. cap. 4. p. 30.

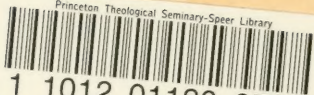
⁴ “*Edent pauperes.* Ego autem quidem reddam vota, de quibus votis edent pauperes, id est, mundi contemptores: edent quidem realiter, si ad sacramenta referatur, et saturabuntur æternaliter, quia intelligent in pane et vino visibiliter sibi proposito, aliud invisibile, scilicet corpus verum et sanguinem verum Domini, quæ verus cibus, et verus potus sunt, quo non venter distenditur, sed mens saginatur.” (Bedæ Presb. Comment. in Ps. 21. Opp. Bas. 1563. tom. VIII. col. 542.) Bede here, as usual, follows St. Austin, but that Father, although plainly enough intending to exclude from the feeding upon Christ’s body all who are not truly imbued with the spirit of his holy religion, yet uses in this place language allowing some room for evasion.

Lildhad ƷeƷit to cnihtade. ⁊ cnihtad to ƷeþunƷenum Ʒærtm. Ʒe ƷulƷnemeða Ʒærtm Ʒebuhð to ylde. ⁊ Ʒeo yld bið mið ðeaƷe Ʒeendod. Witodlice ne Ʒtent ure yld on nanƷe ƷtaðolƷærtneƷƷe. ac ƷƷa micclum ƷƷa Ʒe lichama ƷeƷt. ƷƷa micclum beoð hiƷ ðaƷaƷ ƷeƷandode. ƷehƷæƷ iƷ on urnum liƷe ateornunƷ. ⁊ ƷeƷunƷeƷ. ⁊ bƷornunƷ þeƷ lichaman. ⁊ þeah hƷæþeƷe Ʒilnað Ʒe hƷa þ he lanƷe libbe. ÞƷæt iƷ lanƷe libban. butan lanƷe ƷƷincan. (Bibl. Bodl. MSS. Junii 24. p. 151. Hom. in Decoll. S. Joh. Bapt.) *Childhood passes to youth, and youth to maturity, maturity declines to age, and age with death is ended. Our age truly continues in no steadfastness, but so much as the body*

grows, so much are one's days diminished. Every where in our life is defect and weariness, and wasting of the body, and yet, nevertheless, every one is desirous that he should live long. What is long to live, but long to labour?

THE END.

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